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UN Appoints Swiss Diplomat To Negotiate Abkhazia Conflict

LD2404214493 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2100 GMT 24 Apr 93

[Excerpt] The United Nations secretary general, Dr. Butrus Butrus-Ghali, has proposed that a Swiss diplomat, Mr. Edward Brunner, be sent as the United Nations special envoy for Georgia. Mr. Brunner, who was a UN envoy for the Middle East, is expected to help resolve the conflict between Georgia and its autonomous regions of Abkhazia, whose capital Sukhumi came under renewed shell fire on Saturday, leading to loss of life. [passage omitted]

Turkish Role in Transcaucasus Viewed

PM2704121593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Apr 93 p 3

[Article by Lieutenant Colonel V. Kostenyuk: "Turkey and the Conflict in Transcaucasus"]

[Text] Against the background of the deepening political and military crisis in the Transcaucasus the real possibility of the further internationalization of the armed conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan is becoming increasingly dangerous. As we know, Azerbaijan has officially asked Turkey to render it military and political aid in the war against Armenia including the delivery of weapons and the dispatch of 150 military advisers.

Despite the Turkish leaders' repeated statements of their noninterference in the Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict and their adherence to peaceful methods of resolving it, in Turkish government circles voices of high-ranking military men and diplomats are being heard increasingly frequently expressing their readiness to respond to Baku's call for help. Moreover, on 6 April Mustafa Aksin, Turkey's UN representative, stated Ankara's readiness to take steps to protect Azerbaijan. "Turkey will not allow attacks on Azerbaijan," he said, "and if necessary we shall act." Here M. Aksin did not rule out the possibility of military action.

To implement these intentions Turkey has sufficient forces and facilities concentrated in the immediate vicinity of the border with Armenia and Georgia—in Eastern Anatolia. The third field army is stationed here which can if necessary be reinforced with formations and units of the second field army. In all four army corps numbering about 190,000 personnel are stationed in the Eastern part of Turkey.

Turkey's top military leaders do not conceal where they see a threat to their country's security. And if before the collapse of the Warsaw Pact organization the Turkish military command devoted most of its attention to increasing the combat potential of the grouping of troops targeted on the Balkans, today the main emphasis is on the consolidation of the third army.

It is in this formation that it is intended primarily to complete reorganization and switch from a division structure to a more flexible and improved brigade structure. During the reform priority is being given to the creation of mechanized and armored brigades which will be equipped with German Leopard-1 and modernized U.S. M60A-3 tanks and with new infantry combat vehicles of joint U.S.-Turkish production.

Under the conditions of the reduction of conventional arms which has begun in Europe, Turkey has achieved the transfer from its NATO allies of a substantial quantity of armored vehicles and self-propelling artillery. In addition with the aid of leading U.S. and West European firms the production has been begun under license or preparation is being completed for the production of F-16 fighter-bombers, Huey Cobra AN-IS strike helicopters and "Black Hawk" multiple purpose UH-60A helicopters, MLRS multiple rocket launchers, and various antitank and air defense facilities.

All this will enable the Turkish military command to accelerate the completion of the modernization of its armed forces and by the end of the century to increase their strike power 100-200 percent. But already the groupings in Eastern Anatolia, according to foreign press reports, have about 1,000 tanks, 1,100 armored transport vehicles, up to 2,500 artillery pieces and mortars, over 2,000 antitank weapons and about 700 antiaircraft weapons, and 150 combat helicopters. A second tactical air command with over 300 combat helicopters is planned to give this grouping air support.

The policy of stepping up military aid is explained not only by Turkey's legitimate desire to make its own borders secure. The Turkish Government's numerous foreign policy actions in recent years attest to Ankara's persistent desire to strengthen its influence in the Near and Middle East, in the Balkans, and in the Turkish-speaking states of the Transcaucasus and Central Asia. Seeking to strengthen its status as a regional power, Turkey is gradually moving away from the anti-expansionist policy of its first president, Atatutrk, and is obviously turning toward a course of "neo-Osmanism." Here it is displaying increasing allegiance to strong-arm methods of resolving acute international problems, as is borne out by the position of a number of Turkish leaders with regard to Bosnia and Herzegovina and their calls for international military intervention in the Georgian-Abkhazian and Armenian-Azerbaijan conflicts.

In resolving its own ethnic disputes Turkey is not stopping at the threat to use weapons or at the practical use of its armed forces. It should not be forgotten that back at the height of the cold war on the pretext of defending the Turkish community and in violation of all existing international norms Turkish troops were introduced to Cyprus. Later, threatening Syria with bombing, Turkey compelled that country to abolish the Kurdish camps on

its territory. And in the era of detente (in October-November 1992) a 20,000-strong Turkish corps with air cover routed detachments of Kurdish rebels in Northern Iraq unimpeded.

Meanwhile in accordance with the recently signed bilateral agreement Turkey has undertaken to supply Azerbaijan with light and heavy weapons and to take part in training Azerbaijani servicemen. It is obvious that these actions cannot help to achieve the desired peace in the region despite official Ankara spokesmen's repeated statements on the subject.

I should like to hope nonetheless that in the Turkish Government sane forces prevail, capable of preventing the country's involvement in the armed conflict in the transcaucasus. The world community has a sufficiently varied arsenal of bloodless means of resolving territorial disputes. Far from all available opportunities for this are being used.

Conference Examines Oil, Gas Production Incentives

MK2204140093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 22 Apr 93 p 2

[Aleksey Makarov report: "Conference on Oil and Gas Opened. EC Intends To Support Russian Oil Industry"]

[Excerpt] Russian and foreign experts agree that the production decline in the Russian fuel and energy industry can be stopped only by a massive inflow of both domestic and foreign investments. The international conference, Oil and Gas-93, which opened in Moscow City Hall yesterday is looking into how to create favorable conditions for that. The very first day of the conference heard some unprecedented statements from representatives of the Russian government and the EC.

KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent Aleksey Makarov took part in the work of the conference, and we follow with his report.

The conference opened with a plenary session on the topic "Oil and Gas Policy: Economic and Financial Aspects, Questions of International Cooperation." The first speaker was acting Russian Economy Minister Andrey Shapovalyants. Touching on the question of investments in the Russian economy, he stated that the government at this moment is contemplating changes in taxes on funds from Russian legal entities that go to invest in boosting production in Russia. According to Mr. Shapovalyants, despite the already issued directives that exempt such investments from taxes, tax inspectorates in the provinces do not always follow them, pleading that there is no method for separating investment funds from the total money turnover of firms that pay taxes. In this connection, a decision was made to alter the rules for opening bank accounts for Russian firms. Shapovalyants announced for the first time that special investment accounts will be opened for Russian legal entities, to which investments in Russian production structures will be charged in the future; this is in addition to the usual settlement accounts. [passage omitted]

CIS Leaders Meet in Minsk 28 Apr; Agenda Viewed

LD2704164993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1630 GMT 27 Apr 93

["The Commonwealth Must Be Strengthened"—TASS headline; By ITAR-TASS analyst Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—A programme for drafting documents to further strengthen the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) is expected to be drawn up by the CIS heads of state meeting in Minsk this Wednesday.

Experts of the Russian Government believe that the debate on Commonwealth matters will mainly focus on Boris Yeltsin's proposals, tabled during the April 16 Minsk summit. The Russian president moved to adopt decisions on shaping and coordinating CIS policy on the international arena; promoting integration and establishing a single economic space by setting up an economic union on the basis of CIS customs and currency alliances; establishing a CIS economic coordination committee; and forming a CIS executive secretariat. Yeltsin also moved to work on the further strengthening of cooperation in the military-political sphere, to enhance the effectiveness of the CIS collective security system.

In accordance with the 15-item preliminary agenda, the CIS premiers are to endorse a draft statute of the CIS Coordination- Consultative Committee, which was discussed by their deputies and initialled by Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia and Ukraine (the latter with some reservations). Tajikistan and Uzbekistan have refused to initial the document.

The Coordination-Consultative Committee will be a permanent executive and coordinating body of the Commonwealth. Each state will be represented in it by its vice-premier. The committee's functions shall include the drafting of proposals for the heads of government and heads of state councils, covering matters of cooperation in the political, economic, social, ecological, humanitarian, military and other areas or pertaining to the implementation of economic policy and foreign economic transactions. The committee will also coordinate the work of sectoral cooperation bodies, will analyse the fulfilment of various agreements.

The premiers are to decide on Wednesday several concrete problems of CIS economic cooperation. Ready to be signed already now are agreements on inter-state cooperation in the agroindustrial sphere, on the formation of a council of heads of CIS foreign economic bodies, on the provision of information necessary to fulfil multilateral agreements.

The premiers will also discuss urgent measures to ensure dependable power supply to the Republic of Armenia in the period from 1993 to 1994. According to a draft agreement, the CIS governments will take measures to ensure the unobstructed and safe transit of fuel through the territories of their countries, to deliver equipment and supplies necessary for restoration and repair jobs on Armenian fuel and power installations. The draft also contains a provision, according to which Armenian, Russian, Azeri and Georgian power administration bodies will take concerted measures "to ensure dependable and stable power supply to the Transcaucasian Republics" and will ensure the parallel operation of their power grids.

Prepared for the Minsk meeting also is a draft decision to stabilize the situation in Tajikistan. In addition to the aid given to Tajik troops in the form of arms and military hardware, the members of the CIS Collective Security Council will probably place at the disposal of the Russian borderguard command in Tajikistan one 500-man battalion each to discharge "military tasks to ensure stability on the border with Afghanistan". The meeting is expected to decide on the dispatch to Tajikistan of one motorised infantry battalion each, which will join the collective peace-keeping force there.

Issues Facing CIS Summit Eyed

PM2804094393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 28 Apr 93 p 2

[Igor Sukhanov article: "CIS: After the Russian Referendum. Session of CIS Council of Heads of Government Will Be Held in Minsk Today"]

[Text] The recent meeting of CIS states' leaders in Minsk on the eve of the Russian referendum evoked much contradictory comment. The fact that a number of the leaders of the countries directly linked the future of the CIS with the results of the Russian vote attracted particular attention from experts and journalists.

Now the referendum has taken place, and there is virtually no doubt about the victory of Boris Yeltsin and consequently of the policy of reform linked with the name of the Russian Federation president.

So it is natural to ask: Are we now entitled to take an optimistic view of the future of the CIS?

In general the theme of the "future of the CIS" risks becoming a cliche. Apparently even politicians themselves are beginning to become confused in their assessments of the successes and failures of this interstate formation.

You would have thought that after the celebrations of the first anniversary of the Commonwealth's existence the "pros" of the CIS were clear even to a child: The total destruction of the USSR—a huge nuclear power—has been prevented, the economy of the new independent states is creaking along, but working nevertheless, and, in addition, the initial legal basis has been created for interstate cooperation on the territory of the former USSR.

However, even before two months had passed since January 1993, assessments of the quality of the activity of the CIS faded somewhat. Ranking politicians in most of the member states began to make uncomplimentary remarks about the state of affairs in the Commonwealth.

They were especially unhappy that the economic vector in the development of the CIS chosen in Minsk and first enshrined by the Surgut Intergovernmental Oil and Gas Council was being established insufficiently vigorously and political accents were still dominant in relations among the countries.

Admittedly, for the sake of fairness it should be noted that throughout the history of the CIS the heads of government have done their utmost to smooth over the political frictions that have constantly arisen among the leaders of the member states through their concerted work to develop economic cooperation. But no matter how much lipservice has been paid to the idea that the economy comes first and politics takes second place, the essence of the situation has not changed: It is precisely political biases that have determined and still do determine the climate in the CIS.

Many hopes were pinned on the Commonwealth Charter. However, its adoption on 22 January 1993 in Minsk did not substantially advance matters in the CIS. Once again, it is a question of new mechanisms for collaboration that really work.

However, as usual, specific steps to reform the CIS are still lagging behind the constantly proclaimed good intentions.

The strategic directions of development would seem to have been outlined. Let us recall the following facts, for instance.

In his March address to the leaders of the CIS countries Russian President Boris Yeltsin highlighted the following main paths of joint activity: organizing multilateral economic cooperation, developing horizontal links, joint production and investment activity, and creating a customs union and free trade zones.

President N. Nazarbayev proposed discussing the possibility of forming an interstate economic committee with the necessary powers delegated by the states.

V. Kebich, head of the Belarusian Government, advocated creating an economic union initially based on Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Russia and later voluntarily joined by other CIS countries. It is proposed to base the union on the following principles: a common monetary-credit and customs policy, a common monetary unit, a common budget deficit, common interest rates, and a common emission center.

However, the initiatives of these respected politicians and others have remained merely initiatives precisely because a mechanism for specific work has still not been set up within the CIS framework and there has been no appropriate organizational structure. So clearly everything indicates that the session of the Council of Heads of Government which opens today, though it has over 10 questions on its agenda, will concentrate primarily on the main question—the organizational strengthening of the Commonwealth.

A program for preparing draft documents will be elaborated in this connection in Minsk; the Council will submit the program for approval to the May summit of heads of state in Yerevan.

So far we know of Russian President Boris Yeltsin's package of initiatives. It consists of four sections: political, economic, military, and relating to the organization of multilateral cooperation within the CIS framework.

As Ivan Korotchenya, coordinator of the CIS working group, said in an interview with INTERFAX, the political section includes drafts of a declaration of international commitments in the sphere of human rights and basic freedoms and agreements on preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction and eliminating delivery systems for them, on aid to refugees and enforced migrants, on the protection of victims of war, on conservation of the environment, and on combating terrorism and illegal drug trafficking. The economic section contains draft agreements on coordinating investment policy and on cooperation in the sphere of investment activity, on creating a Eurasian coal and steel association and an interstate nuclear center, and on coordinating financial, monetary-credit, and currency policy, and other documents.

According to information received by ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI from sources close to the government, the Council of Heads of Government session will examine and adopt the drafts of specific decisions to strengthen the organizational structure of the CIS and create organs of the Consultative Coordination Committee, the decision on creating which was initialed by the vice premiers at the 18 March meeting. The Council of Heads of Government will also examine draft statutes on the CIS Executive Secretariat and on permanent representatives-ambassadors to the CIS Secretariat. Experts believe that these organs should become motors in the CIS' activity.

The other questions that the Council of Heads of Government will probably consider include the situation with regard to energy supplies to Armenia, problems of interstate relations on questions of the agro-industrial complex, and questions connected with the "Ostankino" interstate television and radio company.

Further on Agenda

LD2804075593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0728 GMT 28 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow April 28 TASS—A programme for the drafting of documents aimed at further strengthening the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) is expected to be worked out at a CIS prime ministers council session opening in Minsk on Wednesday [28 April].

The session's tentative agenda includes 15 items. Russian Government experts on CIS affairs believe that the

premiers' discussion will centre mainly on Boris Yeltsin's proposals that were put forward at the CIS summit in Minsk on April 16.

The CIS prime ministers are to discuss the shaping and coordination of a common stand of CIS states in the foreign policy sphere, the development of integration, the creation of a common economic space through the establishment of economic alliance on the basis of the CIS customs and currency unions.

They are also planning to consider the Russian president's proposals to set up a CIS economic coordination committee and a CIS executive secretariat.

The prime ministers are expected to work out matters aimed at further strengthening cooperation in the military political sphere and at raising the effectiveness of the collective security system within the CIS framework.

Government Leaders Open Meeting

LD2804091293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0851 GMT 28 Apr 93

[By BELINFORM-TASS]

[Text] Minsk April 28 TASS—CIS heads of government met in the Belarusian capital on Wednesday to discuss 15 questions which can be grouped into three packages - economic, military and organisational.

Prime ministers represent Armenia, Belarus, Russia, Ukraine and Tajikistan, while other delegations are headed By Deputy prime ministers.

Opening the closed-door meeting Belarusian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich told his Russian counterpart that "We were all very worried about the results of the referendum in Russia". The participants in the meeting welcomed the outcome of the referendum with applause.

"Today we have good chances to make progress", Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin told all those present.

The heads of government plan to discuss also humanitarian issues if time permits.

Kebich Appointed Chairman

WS2804111193 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1000 GMT 28 Apr 93

[Text] An extraordinary session of CIS heads of government opened at 0700 GMT in Minsk. Belarus, Russia, Ukraine, Armenia, and Tajikistan are represented by the prime ministers of these states; other delegations are led by first deputy prime ministers. On Viktor Chernomyrdin's suggestion, Belarusian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich was appointed chairman of the session. In his opening speech he said: We currently have a good chance of moving forward. Then he added: We were very uneasy about the results of the Russian referendum. The participants of the session met these words with applause. Some 15 issues are included on the agenda. They can be broken down into three packages: economic, military, and organizational. Time allowing, a package of humanitarian issues will also be discussed. A news conference on the results of the session is scheduled for 1230 GMT. The session is being held behind closed doors.

Economic Coordination Council Planned

LD2804110993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1000 GMt 28 Apr 93

[By BELINFORM correspondents Vladimir Glod and Larisa Lazar for TASS]

[Text] Minsk April 28 TASS—CIS heads of government agreed on Wednesday to create a coordinating and consultative committee of the Commonwealth which will unite economic deputy prime ministers.

The council will meet once a month to discuss most urgent problems.

The heads of government also agreed to transform the CIS working group into the executive secretariat of the Commonwealth which will have membership quotas for each CIS country.

The heads of government succeeded to consider all 16 items on the agenda. They are now discussing mutual settlements between CIS states.

Summit To Be Held 26 May

LD2804110293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1046 GMT 28 Apr 93

[By BELINFORM correspondents Vladimir Glod and Larisa Lazar for TASS]

[Text] Minsk, 28 Apr—At today's meeting in Minsk, the heads of governments adopted a decision to hold a joint meeting of CIS heads of states and heads of governments on 26 May. The venue for the summit has not been announced yet. It is to be chosen by the heads of states.

Report on Armenia-Azerbaijan Mediation Talks in Moscow

MK2704093493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Apr 93 p 1

[Aydyn Mekhtiyev report published in "Azerbaijan" column: "Baku Softens Position. Confidential Talks on Nagorno-Karabakh Held in Moscow"]

[Text] The heavy losses of the Azerbaijani army on the Karabakh front and the visible disorganization of the republic's armed forces have placed before the current Azeri leadership a difficult dilemma: either to continue to maintain a tough position at the talks on Nagorno-Karabakh, which will undoubtedly lead to further defeats on the battle-front; or to come up with concessions on key issues of conflict settlement, but receive a respite critical for the creation of a combat-worthy army. The indications are that President Abulfaz Elchibey's

administration is favoring the second option. In substantiation of this scenario the following fact could be cited: At a recent meeting in Ankara with President Levon Ter-Petrosyan of Armenia the Azeri leader made no ultimatum-like demand for the withdrawal of Armenian troops from Kelbadzhar. It will be recalled that a year ago, after the Armenians captured Lachin, Elchibey stated that there could be no question of negotiations with Ter-Petrosyan until Azerbaijan had regained control of that city. Moreover, Baku officialdom, which not so long ago was accusing the Russian troops of being involved in the Kelbadzhar operation on the Armenian side, is today inclined to recognize the fact that the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict region is part of the Russian zone of strategic interests, and that Russia is not going to allow neighboring Turkey or Iran to interfere in these events. Noteworthy is the toughly worded statement by Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev to the effect the "main threat to Russia's security originates from the south" (he made that statement last week while addressing an all-Russian assembly of reserve officers). Russia's special role as successor to the USSR is also recognized by the West, the United States, and the UN Security Council. At the same time Turkey's timid attempts to alter the lineup of forces in the region are meeting with resistance on the part of the United States and especially France (both of which are permanent members of the UN Security Council).

As NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's correspondent has learned from a reliable source in the Russian Foreign Affairs Ministry, during recent negotiations in Moscow between Azerbaijan's State Secretary Panakh Guseynov and Russian Minister Andrey Kozyrev, the question of creating a so-called "security zone" around Nagorno-Karabakh from which both the Azeri and Armenian military formations are to be withdrawn was discussed. Peacekeeping forces are to be stationed in this demilitarized zone. Under this plan, Russia will use its influence on Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh and get the Armenian forces to pull out from Lachin and Kelbadzhar, but in return Azerbaijan must agree to recognize the leadership of the so-called Nagorno-Karabakh Republic as a full-fledged participant in the negotiations. In addition, Baku will have to accept an obligation to lift its blockade of Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh (Azerbaijan at present denies the fact of the blockade). According to the above- mentioned source, the author of this plan is Vladimir Kazimirov, Russian ambassador at large, who represents Russia's interests in the CSCE framework. The source also said that several rounds of talks have been held in Moscow in circumstances of strict confidentiality, mediated by Russia, between representatives of the Azerbaijan government and the leadership of the Armenian community of Nagorno-Karabakh. So far the talks have produced no results.

Trade Union Confederation on Results of First Year

LD2704174093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1205 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Yegorov]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 27 Apr—The General Confederation of Trade Unions "has managed to achieve the most important goal, to establish itself as an international association and to find its place in the world trade union movement," said its chairman Vladimir Shcherbakov. He spoke today at a meeting of the executive committee of the General Confederation of Trade Unions, which summed up the results achieved by the CIS trade union association in the first year of its existence. [passage omitted]

At today's meeting, the executive committee of the General Confederation of Trade Unions adopted a draft prepared by trade union experts of an agreement between the CIS countries on regulating migration processes and mutual obligations in the employment sphere. The executive committee has also approved a draft prepared at the initiative of the General Confederation of Trade Unions of an interstate agreement on social protection and healthcare for citizens who have suffered as a result of the Chernobyl catastrophe and other nuclear catastrophes, as well as from nuclear tests.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 28 Apr

LD2804052793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0511 GMT 28 Apr

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow April 28 TASS—Today's Moscow press highlights preliminary results of the all-Russia referendum. Summarising the announcement made at a press conference in the Russian white house on Tuesday by Vasily Kazakov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, newspapers single out his opinion that final results would differ from the preliminary ones by not more than tenths or hundredths of a per cent.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR), in an account on the press conference under the headline "the referendum which has not resulted in anyone's resignation", emphasises that 58.05 per cent out of the 64.58 per cent of Russian voters who took part in the polling expressed confidence in President Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Federation, 52.88 per cent agreed with the current reform policy and the questions about early elections of a president and people's deputies polled respectivelly 32.64 and 41.4 per cent.

TRUD newspaper, summing up to results of the polling, draws a conclusion that "the referendum did not produce a legal foundation for early elections."

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA writes in its commentary that "the referendum results indicate that one can believe our sociology only 50 per cent. In actual fact the widely prophesied no-confidence in the socio-economic policy of the president and the seemingly still more probable lack of confidence in the corps of deputies have not come true".

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER) points out in its commentary that the confidence and no-confidence expressed during the referendum "were known long before the polling began: for otherwise why should the Congress of People's Deputies oppose the holding of the referendum? What for did the lawmakers need to divide the question about confidence in the Russian president into two ones—about confidence in Yeltsin proper and about confidence in his economic policy—in the hope that many of the electorate would vote for a 'good' Yeltsin but against his policy? As newspapers note the constituents proved politically more conscious than the deputies whom they had elected."

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, under the headline "Western Leaders Congratulate Boris Yeltsin on a Victory", carries in particular a summary of a telephone conversation between U.S. President Bill Clinton and Boris Yeltsin. The newspaper quotes the U.S. President as saying that Yeltsin's "outstanding victory" will help get a 1.8- billion-dollar aid package through congress.

PRAVDA maintains that the referendum results indicate that "Russia is being dragged into a blind alley".

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA carries answers given by the new president of the Republic of Korea, Kim Young Sam, to questions from the newspaper's editor-in-chief. The South Korean president emphasises the two Koreas will unite peacefully through a stage of the formation of a commonwealth. The newspaper also quotes him as saying that "bilateral relations between the Republic of Korea and Russia develop in the direction of mutual cooperation".

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA runs an interview with Colonel General Vladimir Semyonov, commander-in-chief of Russia's land forces. The newspaper quotes as saying that estimates of threats to world stability and to national interests are being reconsidered, and that maximum efforts are being made to maintain and restore the combat capability of the groups of land forces on Russian territory, their infrastructure and the systems of troop control and communications.

World Leaders Continue To Congratulate Yeltsin

Further Clinton Comment

LD2804105793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1032 GMT 28 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Vladimir Matyash, Arkadiy Sidoruk]

[Text] Washington April 28 TASS—In connection with the April 25 referendum in Russia, President Bill Clinton said that through democratic process the Russian people had again expressed support for reform and President Yeltsin. Successful conclusion of free and honest referendum means an important step toward the development of democracy in Russia. This is a victory that belongs to the Russian people, to President Yeltsin and the process of reform, Clinton said.

President Clinton said he adheres to cooperation with President Yeltsin in supporting reforms and in consolidating new democratic partnership between the United States and Russia. He said the United States will continue backing the Russian reform through coordinated economic support under the arrangements reached in Vancouver and Tokyo. The United States will urge international financial institutions to take undelayed measures to implement programmes of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

Russians gave a strong impetus to success of reform in Russia. They said yes to democracy and free market not only in Russia but across the world.

This emphasises the importance of continuing by the United States the support for democracy and reform in Russia. This extremely important goal will be beneficial not only for the Russian people but also for Americans as opportunities for partnership and investment in democratic and free Russia expand, President Clinton said.

Mongolian President Telegrams Moscow

LD2704134393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0950 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Dugar Sandzhiyev]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 27 Apr—Mongolia's President Punsalmaagiyn Ochirbat has cordially congratulated Boris Yeltsin on his success in the all-Russian referendum. In a telegram sent to Moscow today he says he is satisfied with the results of Russia's nationwide survey. The text of the telegram was released here today by Mongolia's Ministry of Internal Relations. We consider the referendum results to be the expression of Russian Federation people's decision to follow the chosen path of democracy and radical reforms, in which the Mongolian people also have a vested interest, Mr. Ochirbat's message states.

South Korean Leader Welcomes Results

LD2704143293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0950 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Zakharchenko]

[Text] Seoul, 27 Apr—South Korean President Kim Yong-sam congratulated Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin on his victory in the nationwide referendum in Russia. In a brief congratulatory telegram sent to Moscow today, the South Korean leader welcomed the results of the voting, which he said "reaffirmed the confidence of citizens of Russia" in President Yeltsin. Kim Young-sam wished the people of Russia prosperity and expressed confidence that the course of reforms carried out under Boris Yeltsin's leadership would succeed.

Churkin, Other Diplomats on Toughening Stance on Serbs

PM2704152993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Apr 93 First Edition p 3

[Maksim Yusin report: "Bosnian Serbs' Decision Condemned in Moscow"]

[Text] The decision by the Bosnian Serb parliament, which rejected the Vance-Owen plan Monday morning, has provoked condemnation in official Russian circles.

Deputy Minister Vitaliy Churkin, who is responsible for the Yugoslav desk, declined to draw any categorical conclusions: "Despite recent events which do not inspire much optimism, Russia will continue to seek a political solution," he stated. Russian diplomats were more definite in unofficial interviews. In the opinion of one of their number, Lord Owen was ready to make compromises at the latest talks in Belgrade, but the inflexibility of the Bosnian Serbs buried hopes of finding a way out of the deadlock.

According to this diplomat, the Serbs' stubbornness can be put down to two reasons. Either they do not believe in the possibility of foreign military interference—which says something about their political nearsightedness. Or they are deliberately moving toward confrontation with the world community while consoling themselves with the illusion that they can emerge from this clash victorious. Commenting on remarks made by Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic on the possibility of a third world war, a ranking diplomat has described the notion that Russia could get roped into a conflict for the sake of the Bosnian Serbs as "a nonsensical idea."

In the opinion of my interlocutor, to present Serbia as the innocent victim of Western policy, as Russian "patriots" are attempting to do, is incorrect: "Nonaligned states, not just Muslim ones and not the West, have recently been the most active in opposing Belgrade." The consequence of the Bosnian Serbs' decision may not simply be a tightening of sanctions against Yugoslavia but also the gradual separation of Montenegro from

Serbia, a diplomat belonging to Andrey Kozyrev's closest entourage believes: "Voices are increasingly being heard in Montenegro: Why should we have to pay for the Serbs' policy? Whereas only the opposition used to say this, now the republic's leadership is also inclining toward this approach."

Foreign Ministry representatives announced that they are negatively disposed to the idea of merging the areas of Bosnia and Croatia controlled by the Serbs into a single "Serb republic." "This would complicate the situation," Vitaliy Churkin said. Another diplomat, who wished to remain anonymous, stated that Moscow will never support attempts to change the internationally recognized borders of Croatia and Bosnia by force.

Kozyrev Comments on Vance-Owen Referendum

LD2704164093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1619 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Polovko]

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—Russia has already expressed its regret over the decision of the Assembly of Bosnian Serbs to turn down the Vance-Owen plan of a peaceful settlement, but believes Bosnian Serbs have yet another chance to demonstrate their good will and readiness for a peaceful dialogue—a referendum on the Vance-Owen plan scheduled for the middle of May, according to Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev.

Russia has always strived and continues to try and solve the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina by peaceful and political means, he said at a meeting with Jeri Laber, the executive director of the "Helsinki Watch" international non-governmental organisation.

Kozyrev recalled his earlier proposal to hold a UN meeting in combat zones of former Yugoslavia, to send observers to the hot spots in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to the borders, to convene the second session of the London conference or a special meeting on former Yugoslavia in the context of the Balkan security.

However, he stressed that Boris Yeltsin made it clear on Tuesday that Russia will not patronize those who oppose the world community.

It was stated during the meeting that the world public is even more resolute in its attitude to the continuing bloodshed in Bosnia than many governments of the countries involved in resolving the conflict. It was agreed that the world public has come to a certain deadline in the question which demands resolute measures to eliminate the hot spot and the causes of the conflict.

TV Crew Visits Russian Troops Based in Croatia

LD2704180193

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1445 GMT on 27 April broadcasts a 15-minute report entitled "The Fate of the Russian Battalion" on the UN Russian battalion stationed in the Serb-held town of Knin on the border of Croatia and Krajina.

The report begins with the video showing Zagreb street scenes and Russian troops undergoing training. Over video of marching soldiers, an unidentified correspondent says: "This is a Russian paratroop battalion, which is part of the UN peace forces. It is stationed in the area of Serb-Croatian confrontation. These are 900 of our fellow-countrymen. It is our second visit to the capital of Croatia. Our film crew was first there a month ago. Little has changed in those 30 days. It is still calm in the streets of old Zagreb. Perhaps there are more flowers now than before—it is spring after all."

The correspondent then goes on to describe the life of Zagreb and says that, in contrast, the life of UN units in Yugoslavia is less predictable. The video then cuts to views of Knin. "Here is the city of Knin," the correspondent says. "Russian journalists visited it before with permission of Serbian authorities. We, on the other hand, owe our rare—and for now perhaps the only—opportunity to visit the city to the Croatian side. We could not film much in Knin. Armed people are not particularly fond of the camera. It must be said though that the Serb home guards received us calmly. One of them even nudged his pal to pose for us."

The correspondent goes on to talk about the history of the present Balkan conflict. The video then shows a conversation between a black man in a uniform and a group of Russian deputies, one of whom is identified as Oleg Rumyantsev. The voice over which accompanies the video says: "Before we proceed to talk about the Russian battalion, I would like to tell you about a brief interview with General Rob, a Kninian. At a meeting with Russian deputies in Knin, this representative of the UN forces spoke with determination and toughness." The correspondent says the general told the Russian deputies about the complex situation in which the UN forces have found themselves and how difficult their tasks are.

The correspondent then turns to the subject of the Russian battalion, noting the soldiers' professionalism. They are stationed in one of the most difficult areas, he says, adding that at the time the film crew visited the troops they were seeing off General Sosedov on his return home. He is a former commander of the eastern sector of the UN troops, the reporter says. He goes on to describe and show how soldiers are trained, what they do during the day, what and how they eat, what they sing about. A group of them is then interviewed. They all say that life is not as bad as it may be supposed.

Czech Support for Vance-Owen Plan Cited

LD2804081993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0621 GMT 28 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vitaliy Yaroshevskiy]

[Text] Prague April 28 TASS—The Czech Republic has consistently advocated a peaceful solution to the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict on the basis of respecting rights of all Bosnian communities, a Czech Foreign Ministry statement distributed here said.

The only solution recommended by the world community is the Vance-Owen plan. This is not an ideal solution, the document emphasised, but today it is the best that has been agreed to. After all it has been understood by all parties involved in the conflict. However, the latest events have shown that the Serbian side does not care a damn for the proposed version.

The Czech Republic supports the U.N. decision to impose more tougher sanctions on the Republic of Yugoslavia and will strictly observe them, the document stated. The Czech Republic has always condemned the "ethnic cleansing" in the context of an armed conflict, it said.

That is why Czechia fully supports the U.N. demand to carefully investigate war crimes and punish criminals. The Czech Republic does not shun the idea of more strict U.N. sanctions leading to the establishment of peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The republic is prepared to extend support to these measures in keeping with its capabilities, the Foreign Ministry statement said.

Government To Represent Yugoslavia in IMF, World Bank

MK2804101493 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 11, 27 Apr 93 (Signed to Press 26 Apr) p 1

[Unattributed exclusive report signed "Our Own Information:" "Russia To Represent Yugoslavia Interests in IMF and World Bank"]

[Text] According to a government directive, Russia will represent the interests of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in international financial organizations, at the latter's request. Yugoslavia itself cannot become a member of these organizations owing to the world community sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. On the other hand, the positive response by Russian representatives in the IMF and the World Bank attest to Russia's desire to steer an independent course in these organizations despite the widely held view of Russia's subordinate role in the world financial community.

IZVESTIYA Views Situation in Croatia

PM2704150393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Apr 93 First Edition p 7

[Maksim Yusin report: "Vukovar Will Never Be Spelled in Cyrillic"]

[Text] Zagreb-Moscow—Croatian President Franjo Tudjman does not like defeats, much less military defeats. The former Yugoslav Army general finds them particularly hard to bear. "In 1991 our republic won the war against Serbia," he said at a meeting with Russian journalists who had come to Zagreb at the invitation of the Croatian Foreign Ministry. "Serbian nationalists were trying to restore communism in Croatia. Thanks to the courage of their Croatian people their plans were thwarted. In that sense we won a victory."

In every other sense the war was a severe defeat for Croatia. Some 22 percent of the republic's territory ended up under the control of Serbian formations. The most extensive areas of land were seized in the south, where the city of Knin—the center of the self-proclaimed Serbian Republic (of Krajina), which is seeking to secede from Croatia and subsequently join Serbia—is located.

Yet the fiercest fighting was not in the south but in northeast Croatia—in eastern Slavonia. This fertile region, where Serbs have never been in the majority, abuts Serbian territory. The Yugoslav People's Army transferred strike units to the border and launched an offensive. The city of Vukovar, which fell 19 November 1991 after three months of desperate but hopeless resistance, is known in Croatia as a second Stalingrad.

Soon after the capture of Vukovar the Serb offensive halted. The Croats have different explanations. Some claim that the offensive ran out of steam because of the increased resistance from the Croatian Army and the heavy losses suffered by the Serbs in the fighting for the city. Others admit that the Croats were helped by the intervention of the world community and the dispatch to the republic of UN "blue helmets" to separate the opposing sides. Foreign diplomats working in Zagreb cite yet another reason—the Serbs halted the offensive because they had achieved their main goals. The capture of Osijek, Vinkovci, and other cities virtually on the front line was not part of their plans. Their mission was limited to capturing those areas with large Serb populations.

The last explanation sounds very convincing. The Croats themselves admit that 18 months ago their army was absolutely unprepared for war. There was not even an army as such. The poorly armed territorial defense troops were unable to mount any meaningful resistance to the Yugoslav Army's aircraft and armored equipment. As one of my interviewees put it, the Croats had to "fight tanks with pistols."

Has the Croatian Army managed to make use of its 16-month breathing space and prepare for a possible new clash with the Serbs? Most of the foreign diplomats I spoke to were skeptical. The Serbs—who inherited all the Yugoslav Army's weapons—continue to have a tangible advantage. The UN embargo on weapons shipments to all warring factions prevents the Croats from eliminating this imbalance. Zagreb considers this decision to be discrimination.

The people I spoke to in parliament and at the Foreign Ministry indignantly said that the world community is

tying the hands of the Croats and the Muslims: On the one hand it is not giving them any help, leaving them to face superior opposing forces alone. Yet, on the other, it is not allowing them to arm themselves. The Croatian Air Force currently has just two modern aircraft, hijacked—it is claimed in Zagreb—by Croat pilots from Yugoslav Army airfields. The tank situation is bad. Of course, the embargo shows signs of cracking, and it is no secret to anyone that weapons are being supplied to Croatia (as they are to Serbia too, incidentally) in circumvention of UN resolutions, but there are clearly not enough of them to alter the correlation of forces.

This was confirmed by the Maslenica offensive launched by the Croatian Army 22 January. The timing of the offensive was not randomly chosen—on the eve of parliamentary elections in the republic Tudjman wanted to bolster his authority with a resounding military success.

It was no surprise that the operation was launched in the Maslenica sector. As a result of the Serbian offensive in late 1991 Croatian territory had been cut in half in this area. The Dalmatian coast of the Adriatic with its world-famous resorts and 700,000 inhabitants was cut off from the rest of the republic.

The Croats' dominance in the first phase of the operation was considerable—the Serbs started to retreat. Active hostilities continued for around a week, and then the front stabilized. "The Maslenica operation ended when we had carried out all our missions," General Janko Bobetko, chief of the Croatian Army General Staff, told us. "The Serbs were running like rabbits, and if the UN 'blue helmets' had not held up our advance we would have been in Knin by now," one of the operation participants said ruefully.

Independent observers agree that in military terms it was not an out-and-out success. Having obtained reinforcements rapidly sent up from Serbia and Bosnia, the Serbs seized the initiative and regained their lost positions in certain areas.

The political results of the operation were depressing too. Despite the fact that the Croatian Army was acting within the internationally recognized borders of its own country, few people in the world supported the January offensive. Things did not reach the point of sanctions being applied against Zagreb, but the prestige of the Croatian state, which had launched hostilities in areas under UN control, was undermined.

In discussions with President Tudjman and other officials you got the feeling that for them the Maslenica operation was a sore point, probably, above all, because the January offensive had demonstrated that the Croatian Army is not currently ready for a wide-ranging war with Serbia. Without any particular effort the Serbs were able to hold back an offensive which the Croats had spent several months preparing. As a diplomat in Zagreb put it, in Maslenica Tudjman had been firing blanks.

Nobody in Croatia would dream of conceding the areas seized by the enemy. There can be no question of recognition for "Serbian Krajina." "Vukovar will never be spelled in Cyrillic," is daubed in capital letters on the wall of an apartment house in downtown Zagreb. None of the people I talked to had any doubt that sooner or later Vukovar would be returned to Croatia. The only question is when and at what price.

Most Croats prefer the peaceful route of talks with Belgrade and Knin, with UN and EC mediation. Zagreb is following events in neighboring Bosnia with particular interest. "If the Vance-Owen plan bears fruit and makes it possible to preserve a unified Bosnian state comprising 10 autonomous provinces, this model could in time be used in Croatia as well," Vlado Vurusic, an observer with the weekly GLOBUS, believes.

In political terms the Croats have learned lessons from the sad experience of the first few months of independence. At that time one of the reasons for the Serb uprising which led to the Yugoslav Army's intervention was Zagreb's imprudent steps with regard to the largest ethnic minority in the republic and its attempts to remove Serbs from leadership in areas densely populated by them. Until 1991, according to official statistics, Serbs comprised 12 percent of the 4.76 million inhabitants of Croatia, and the territories currently controlled by Serbian formations are home to less than half of the Croatian Serbs—most are concentrated in Zagreb and other large cities.

Croatian leaders are now stating their readiness to observe all the Serbian minority's rights. At the newspaper and television headquarters and the enterprises that we visited we Russian journalists were introduced without fail to Serbs who considered themselves citizens of Croatia and who support their country's struggle against "Belgrade's aggression." At the editorial office of NOVI VJESNIK, one of Zagreb's biggest newspapers, were were introduced to the Serb journalist Alexander Milosevic, who uses his articles to expose the policies of his namesake—the Serbian president.

In villages won from the Serbs in the Maslenica area we were told that during the storming of enemy positions several Croatian Army soldiers of Serbian extraction had particularly distinguished themselves.

Nonetheless, it is very difficult to be a Serb in today's Croatia. "There is nothing surprising about this," Stipe Mesic, chairman of the parliament, said. "Can you imagine how Germans felt in London or Moscow in 1941?" The comparison with Moscow was not quite accurate, of course. Unlike Stalin, Tudjman would not even dream of deporting Croatian Serbs.

For a Serb living in Croatia and loyal to his country's authorities, the most worrying threat is to be drafted into the Army and captured by his fellows. A well-known Croatian journalist told a terrible story that he had heard from a friend captured by the Serbs in the ruins of Vukovar: "The prisoners were ordered to line up in the

square. They were approached by a Serbian officer who a few months ago had been a teacher at one of Vukovar's schools. Pulling his former students out of the line, he personally cut the throats of those of them who were Serbs. The Croats were sent to a prisoner-of-war camp." Some 10 months later the man who had witnessed this atrocity was exchanged for a Serbian prisoner. The aim of his life now is to meet that teacher...

The Croats use the word "chetnik" to distinguish "our" Serbs from "theirs." The name of the Serbian militiamen who fought the Turks in the 19th century and the Germans, Croats, Muslims, and Communists during World War II has turned into the worst kind of insult in Croatia. "Chetniks and Serbs are different concepts," we were told in Zadar, a resort on the Adriatic coast. "Chetniks shell the city every day, killing both Croats and Serbs who live here."

As far as the shelling is concerned, were were able to experience it for ourselves. In the 24 hours we spent in Zadar we repeatedly heard explosions. A shrill siren was heard several times over the city, warning the citizens to take cover. Somebody dies or is wounded in Zadar virtually every day. Despite this, the city is trying to go on as normal. Some 7,000 people attended a soccer match on the day we arrived. A few minutes after it ended a shell exploded 500 meters from the stadium. Fortunately, no one was hurt. "The chetniks knew about the match and targeted the stadium specially," locals told us.

There is now an abyss between the two peoples who formed the basis of the Yugoslav state for more than 70 years. "I do not know how many generations it will take before Serbia and Croatia restore normal relations," a Croatian diplomat said. Before the war he had lots of friends in Belgrade. Now he does not have a single one: "The Serbian people have been infected with a nationalistic mentality and the idea of creating a Greater Serbia. Even the opposition to Milosevic will never agree to the return of Knin and Vukovar to Croatia."

So how then should dialogue be conducted? At any rate, not with the current Belgrade leadership, people in Zagreb are convinced. People in Croatia are now very hostile toward Slobodan Milosevic. Stipe Mesic admitted to us that he had refused to shake the Serbian president's hand when he met him in The Hague: "Milosevic promised to mobilize 2 million people into the army if his country was threatened by foreign military intervention. I then said to him: 'Slobodan, if you do that, there will be an uprising and you will be hanged. I would ask one thing—remember me when they hang you. And I will remember you.'"

A wall in one of the houses in a village won from the Serbs bore the inscription "Serbs, Montenegrins, and Russians are a sacred trio." Alongside were three fingers symbolizing the Orthodox sign of the cross. The walls had been painted by Serbs, who held the village for around a year. Croats accompanying the journalists could not let the inscription pass without comment: "We are just as much Slavs as the Serbs. We have been brought up on Russian culture, on Tolstoy and Dostoyevskiy. So why do the Russian people support the Serbs? Is it just because they are Orthodox?"

This question was one we heard repeatedly—the idea that the Russian people side with their enemies is one that has entered the Croats' consciousness. Without knowing our political realities, they cannot understand that when General Filatov appears on Belgrade television to promise Serbia military aid he represents neither the Russian people nor the Russian Army...

The Russians are not the only ones the Croats are accusing of bias. West Europeans (particularly the French) and the Americans are also attacked. But probably the sharpest assessments are being made about UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force]—which is how people in Croatia, using the English abbreviation, refer to the UN peacekeeping forces. Most of the people I spoke to are convinced that the "blue helmets" are not carrying out the main mission for which they were sent to the republic—promoting the gradual transfer to Croatian control of territory seized by the Serbs.

Under the Vance Plan, which Zagreb approved, in the so-called "pink zones" where UN troops are deployed Croatian administration must be restored, Serbian detachments disarmed, and conditions created for refugees to return home. None of this has been done. In Zagreb voices are increasingly being raised against the UNPROFOR presence.

President Tudjman is more cautious. He is not calling for an immediate "blue helmet" withdrawal, realizing that the United Nations is a shield protecting Croatia from a new attack. Under UNPROFOR protection the Croats can quietly continue to rearm their army and, if a peaceful solution turns out to be unattainable, prepare for a continuation of the war. All the more so as time is working inexorably against the Serbs.

The continued fighting in Bosnia, the threat of foreign intervention, the UN sanctions that have drained the Yugoslav economy, and, finally, civil war in Kosovo (which could flare up any day now) are all factors that are weakening Belgrade and reinforcing the Croats' optimism. "The Serbs are painting themselves into a corner. They will not be able to withstand a war on several fronts," Vlado Vurusic is convinced.

But the war has been a very severe trial for Croatia too. Inflation is over 25 percent a month. GNP in 1992 was just half of the prewar level. Even by the lowest estimates the direct damage from combat operations is heading for $20 billion. Average wages are less than $100 a month, and prices in the stores are at West European levels.

The continuing flood of refugees is creating immense difficulties—according to various estimates there are 600,000-750,000 refugees in the republic. The stylish hotels and camp sites on the Adriatic, where hotel rooms

used to cost $30-100 a night just two years ago, are now almost wholly occupied by refugees. Some 15 percent of Croatian national income goes on their upkeep.

Tourism, which used to bring the republic $3 billion a year, has virtually dried up. Economic ties between Croatia's regions have been broken and transport arteries cut. It now takes twice as long to travel to Osijek from Zagreb as it did before the war—a stretch of the main road several dozen kilometers long is under Serbian control.

Under these conditions the popularity of the ruling HDZ (Croatian Democratic Union) is diminishing. Sensing this, Tudjman is stepping up the pressure on the opposition. Primarily on the independent media, of which there are not many in Croatia. The history of the president's fight against the Split-published newspaper SLOBODNA DALMACIJA [Free Dalmatia] has had widespread repercussions. Carried away by his polemic, Tudjman was free with his expressions and christened the journalists who had criticized his policy "traitors and enemies of democracy."

This unequal struggle ended in victory for the authorities. A Tudjman crony was appointed chief editor of SLOBODNA DALMACIJA. None of the official media—including the Tudjman-controlled television—backed their colleagues. Aidon White, secretary of the International Journalists Federation, and Timothy Balding, general director of the International Press Publishers Federation, who visited Zagreb in early March, reached the conclusion that press freedom in the republic was being violated and recommended that there should be no rush to accept Croatia as a member of the Council of Europe.

Zagreb has found these conclusions painful. "The views held by Balding and White cannot be considered objective. How could they get an impression of the position with regard to press freedom in Croatia if they spent just two days here?" Bozidar Petrac, chief editor of the newspaper NOVI VJESNIK [New Journal], which is close to the HDZ, said indignantly. "Full democracy and press freedom cannot exist under war conditions," a Croatian Foreign Ministry official accompanying the Russian journalists is convinced.

Nonetheless, in the eyes of world public opinion the Tudjman regime is losing points, while the Croatian president is getting a reputation as a tough politician who does not tolerate dissidence and tends to be authoritarian. Croats who oppose Tudjman admit that he does have dictatorial tendencies, but hitherto the president has managed to suppress them, and, consequently, there are no grounds for talking about a threat to democracy in the republic, they believe.

Russian diplomats accredited in Zagreb agree with this assessment too. "There is not yet any real opposition to Tudjman in Croatia. And it is unlikely that there will be any in the foreseeable future," one of them said. "There is no point in the president's getting angry and wasting energy on fighting journalists who cannot seriously disrupt his position anyway. For all Tudjman's shortcomings, he is someone whom the Croats now see as the strong leader the nation needs at this critical time when the country, which has lost almost a quarter of its territory, is teetering between war and peace for the second year running."

14th Army Commander Dismissed From Post in Tiraspol

LD2804091693 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 28 Apr 93

[Text] The Yezhednevnaya glasnost agency reports that the work of the investigative group of the Russian military procuracy in Tiraspol has resulted in the dismissal of General Lebed, commander of the 14th Army, from his post. He and his family will be sent back to Moscow by plane. This news, late in the evening on 27 April, came as a complete surprise to Tiraspol citizens. People began gathering at the Town Council building, where the lighting on the approaches had been switched off on the orders of Dniester region leaders. A spontaneous rally took place by candlelight. According to the speakers, Gen. Lebed was a bulwark of the opposition to the Tiraspol authorities.

Defense Ministry Denies Lebed Dismissed

LD2804120293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 28 Apr 93

[Text] Russia's Defense Ministry has denied a report that General Lebed, commander of the 14th Army in the Dniester region, has beeen dismissed from his post. Head of the Ministry's press service, Valeriy Chirvin, told our correspondent that he had telephoned Gen. Lebed in Tiraspol. The latter said he knew nothing about his alleged dismissal. The YEZHEDNEVNAYA GLASNOST agency, which circulated the report from Tiraspol, claimed that the commander of the 14th Army had been dismissed as a result of the work in Tiraspol of an investigating team from the Military Procuracy, and that he and his family would be sent back to Moscow.

Radio Rossi regrets having included this unchecked report from the DAILY GLASNOST agency in its 1200 newscast.

Navy Protests Ukrainian Takeover of 2 Black Sea Ships

LD2704190293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Text] At the Russian Navy press center, the order of the Ukrainian defense minister incorporating the Sposobnyy, a large anti-submarine vessel of the Pacific Fleet, and the Yelnya, a tanker of the Black Sea Fleet, into the Ukrainian naval forces has been described as a crude and arbitrary action. The Sposobnyy is the property of the Russian Federation, an ITAR-TASS correspondent was told at the press center today.

As it is seen here, the taking of the oath of allegiance to Ukraine by some of its crew is no grounds for incorporating the ship into the Ukrianian Navy. The claim that the captain of the tanker Yelnya requested the Ukrainian Defense Ministry to incorporate the crew into the Ukrainian Navy was described by Nikolay Gribinnik, the actual captain, as a fabrication and disinformation in a report addressed to the commander of the Black Sea Fleet. Such actions by the Ukrainian Defense Ministry, the Russian Navy press center notes, are a violation of the Yalta agreements and overstep the bounds of civilized relations.

Navy Press Center Rejects Charges by Ukrainian Deputies

PM2704153193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Apr 93 First Edition p 1

[Untitled ITAR-TASS report]

[Text] The newspaper HOLOS UKRAINY has published an open letter from Ukrainian people's deputies to the Ukrainian president, accusing Russia of being in breach of the Yalta agreement.

The Russian side is accused of arbitrarily redeploying ships outside the fleet's zone of responsibility, of placing naval infantry subunits on heightened alert and of... raising the pay of Black Sea Fleet servicemen.

The Russian Navy Press Center has stated that pay in the fleet has indeed been increased (as it has been in the Armed Forces in general). But the other accusations cited in the Ukrainian deputies' letter either do not square with the facts or have been deliberately distorted.

Khasbulatov, Kozyrev Agree on Need for Troops to Tajikistan

LD2704202393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Text] Agreement between two irreconcilable opponents is possible, after all. On Tuesday, Ruslan Khasbulatov and Andrey Kozyrev shared the same view on the question of sending a Russian voluntary military contingent of up to 500 men to take part in the joint peacekeeping forces in Tajikistan. Now, over to Anton Grishin:

[Grishin] Both speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov and Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, invited to the session, spoke in favor of adopting Boris Yeltsin's decision on sending another peace-keeping support battalion to Tajikistan. No doubt, a very pleasing fact indeed.

Andrey Kozyrev, in particular, has noted that Tajikistan today is an area for which the Russian Federation bears a special responsibility and has interests. Therefore, Russia will offer all possible help to the republic. The resolution points to the need to conclude the corresponding agreements with the Central Asian republics—Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan—before the agreement on sending the Russian contingent is reached. But, in the words of Sergey Kondrakhin, head of the personnel of the defense and security committee, the process of manning the contingent and signing the agreement will take place almost simultaneously. We have Sergey Kondrakhin on the telephone now:

[Kondrakhin] Now, after adoption of this resolution, practically everything is in the president's hands. The battalion will be formed under his auspices strictly on the voluntary basis. After this battalion is deployed there—and you know that there are already some Russian forces there, such as the 201 motorized rifle division under the command of General Ashurov and the Russian border guards. At the same time, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will carry out its work on preparation and conclusion of the inter-state agreement.

It is worth mentioning that Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin will raise the question on the peacekeeping forces in Tajikistan once again at the session of heads of the governments of the CIS member states on Wednesday. The main theme of the conference will be the CIS states' debts to Russia.

Committee Approves Scheme To Hire Troops for Tajik Border

PM2804113193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Apr 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Aleksandra Lugovskaya: "Russian Soldiers Will Serve in Tajikistan Only on Contract"]

[Excerpts] Supreme Soviet Chairman R. Khasbulatov's reasonable explanation for holding the chambers' joint sitting on Tuesday instead of the usual Thursday was that there are a large number of May holidays, so it is necessary to put in more work. [passage omitted]

The importance of the second item on the agenda—"The Russian Military Contingent's Involvement in Collective Peacekeeping Efforts in Tajikistan"—was evidenced both by the main speeches on this draft by Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev, representing the president, and S. Stepashin, chairman of the parliamentary Committee on Defense and Security, and by the deputies' subsequent well-informed debate. The draft decree presented by S. Stepashin envisaged not only Russia's conclusion of appropriate agreements with the governments of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan on sending contingents of 500 servicemen to Tajikistan, but also the establishment of the procedure for forming them, their functions, structure, and legal status. In other words, the mechanism for implementing the agreement. The chairman of the Defense and Security Committee particularly stressed that the protection of Tajikistan's external borders by Russian border guards is largely in Russia's interests at the moment since, in his view, open borders could destabilize its internal situation. According to him, Tajikistan could serve as a transit area enabling bandit formations and other armed groupings

and drugs to get through and also enabling "Western special services to find their way into Russia."

While noting that the arguments cited by S. Stepashin were correct, A. Kozyrev nonetheless strenuously defended the president's draft, which provides for urgently forming and sending a military contingent. He called Tajikistan "a zone of Russia's special responsibility and interests." In his view, the other states could delay indefinitely the "launch" of the agreement on sending their own contingents to Tajikistan, whereas president B. Yeltsin is proposing that Russia speak for itself alone on this matter, and forthwith. This decision will give specific status to Russian military subunits already in Tajikistan.

After the adoption of the decree, Deputy I. Zalevskaya introduced an amendment enshrining in the document the principle of each serviceman's voluntary participation in the contingenet on a contract basis, which was also adopted.

Talks With Latvia Broken Off Over Plans To Expel Russians

LD2704222193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1451 GMT 26 Apr 93

[From the "Panorama" program]

[Excerpts] In connection with the fact that the latest 3-day round of Latvian-Russian talks was due to start in Riga today, our correspondent in Latvia, Inars Skujins, met two influential Latvian politicians, Dainis Ivans and Janis Jurkans. [passage omitted]

The round of talks that was due to start today has not taken place, even though reports that it had begun were made by various agencies, including Mayak.

We contacted the head of the Russian state delegation to the talks with the Latvian Government delegation, special envoy Sergey Zotov, and he made the following statement:

[Begin Zotov recording] Mayak listeners doubtless already know that the Supreme Council of the Latvian Republic intends to adopt a resolution on 28 April, which will in effect lay down a legal basis for subsequent deportations of tens of thousands of ethnic Russians [rossiyane]. The Russians doubtless also know of the position adopted byto rearesident of the Russian Federation in this connection.

The Russian state delegation to the talks made its own statement on Saturday, stressing that the draft resolution adopted by the Latvian parliament as a basis grossly violates the commonly recognized international norms in the area of human rights, and also the obligations undertaken by Latvia when it joined the UN and CSCE.

In case this decision is adopted, it will put back talks on the withdrawal of Russian troops from thisch antry, which are already difficult. In fact, all the positive work done by the state delegations of the two countries over the past year on creating a contractual and legal basis for the purpose of settling issues relating to the social protection of the troops being withdrawn and also of military pensioners and members of their families permanently residing in Latvia—civilians working in military units are included in the same category—will be nullified. I want to stress that it gr the absence of such agreements that was one of the reasons which prompted the president of the Russian Federation to suspend the withdrawal of troops from Latvia.

It is obvious that the latest anti-Russian action will have a negative effect on bilateral economic ties and will make it impossible for Russia to grant Latvia the most-favored-nation status in trade.

The decision that is being prepared by the Latvian parliament has an illegal, inhuman and, I would say, provocative nature, as it is being made against a background of major efforts on the part of Russia to withdraw Russian troops from Latvia, whose numbers have been reduced in the past year from 57,000 to 22,000. Incidentally, Mayak listeners have become the first people to learn this figure—it is being made public for the first time.

Under these conditions, the Russian side does not see any sense in holding a regular round of Russian-Latvian talks planned for 26- 28 April this year, which is doomed eement on certain e actions of the Latvian Supreme Council. The issue relating to setting a new date for a meeting between the state delegations of the two countries will be tackled after the possible consequences of the adoption of this decision are elucidated. [end recording]

Commentary on Situation With Latvia

MK2804094493 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 11, 27 Apr 93 (Signed to Press 26 Apr) p 4

[Dmitriy Zhdannikov commentary: The Sejm Was Prepared To Wait, Yeltsin Preferred To Make Haste]

[Text] The Latvian Sejm has put off, until 27 April, the passing of a decree "On Temporary Residence Permits for Persons Whose Presence is Connected With Temporary Deployment in the Latvian Republic of the Armed Forces of Russia." The deputies after all left some room for dialogue with Russia on matters of citizenship, having decided to adjust their stance depending on the results of yet another round of Russian-Latvian interstate negotiations.

However, the opposition expressed by Boris Yeltsin last Friday to all of the drafts proposed to the Sejm, on the grounds that every one of them "will create a legal basis for ethnic cleansing," may lead to a situation similar to that which followed the previous round when, in the wake of Pavel Grachev's statement "On Halting the

Withdrawal of Russian Troops From the Baltic Countries," the state delegations failed in the final analysis to agree on a single key political and military question.

The drafts submitted for discussion by the Sejm on Wednesday cause concern, to put it mildly, among the Russian-speaking population of Latvia. The People's Front faction draft that proposes to class as "temporary residents" some 75,000 people, including all military men on active duty, and some veterans. [sentence as published] The more radical draft by the Satversme affects those who came to Latvia following demobilization from the armed services of the ex-USSR, and civilians of the former Soviet defense enterprises, and all relatives of these persons, totaling 250,000 people, or 18 percent of the republic's population.

Yeltsin's indignant statement must also have been influenced by an about-face made by Latvia's Foreign Ministry, which has always been remarkable for the law-abiding and well-disposed nature of its pronouncements. The latest statements by Georgis Andreyevs, head of Latvia's foreign policy agency, far from having smoothed over the differences, have taken the conflict to a national level. "Any widening of the circle of Latvia's citizenry will destroy the main ethnic group of residents," Andreyevs declared. He disproved the "ridiculous claim that 50 percent of Latvia's population is not going to take part in elections," and optimistically corrected the figure to 25 percent (a number that exceeds even the one appearing in the ultra-radical draft of the Satversme.)

The Russian president was too hasty with his statement, and missed the possible positive results of the Russian-Latvian talks (it was these results, rather than the president's statement, that the Sejm had been waiting for). No one else managed so well to smooth over previous statements by Grachev, Yeltsin, and Andreyevs, as did the Russian and Latvian diplomats. The impression in this case is that President Yeltsin simply wanted to drum up more support before the referendum among the military.

Yeltsin Adviser Hits 'Provocative' Latvian Move

PM2804114193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 28 Apr 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Sergey Stankevich: We Should Not Allow Russians To Be Deported From the Baltics"]

[Text] On 20 April the Latvian parliament took the first reading of a draft decree on issuing temporary residence permits for a period of not more than one year to all Russian servicemen stationed on Latvian territory, former servicemen living in the republic including pensioners, their wives even if their marriages have been dissolved, other members of their families, and all civilians hired to work on military structures. According to various estimates, the documents will affect between 75,000 and 250,000 people.

In this connection Russian presidential adviser Sergey Stankevich has made a statement emphasizing that the Latvian parliament's adoption of the edict on issuing temporary Latvian residence permits to Russian servicemen actually opens the door to mass deportations of ethnic Russian from Latvia.

This openly discriminatory and provocative step should be deeply regretted.

S. Stankevich emphasized that, if the decree is adopted, opportunities for a continuation of bilateral intergovernmental negotiations seem to be in extreme doubt and without a future. It is not ruled out that opponents of normalizing Latvian-Russian relations deliberately attempted to break off the negotiations so that they could turn to the West with the next in a series of complaints against Russia. In Stankevich's opinion, there is still hope that the "fateful" document will nevertheless not be adopted and the timer on the "political time bomb" will not be activated.

Position on Georgian-Abkhaz Conflict Analyzed

MK2704105693 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 27 Apr 93 p 10

[Valeriya Sycheva, Georgiy Bovt report published in "Russian-Georgian Talks" column: "Georgian Leader Hopes for UN and CSCE Assistance"]

[Text] Georgian Supreme Soviet Chairman Eduard Shevardnadze over the weekend received Istvan Gyarmat, head of the CSCE mission in Georgia. The results of the meeting have shown that Russia's role in settling the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict is rapidly diminishing. Observers point out that the reason for this is Moscow's uncertain policy, which is also coming under criticism in the Russian parliament. The position of the latter in its turn is influenced by a think tank led by a retired general, Deputy Vladimir Achalov.

The content of Shevardnadze's talk with the CSCE delegation has again shown that the Georgian leader links his country's future not with Russia but with Europe, on which he is pinning his hopes for a settlement of the conflict. The sides agreed that lately a "somewhat skeptical attitude has emerged toward Russia's peacekeeping mission both on the Georgian and on the Abkhaz sides." Shevardnadze, however, expressed his dissatisfaction over the extent to which the UN and CSCE missions are involved in setting the conflict, calling on them to move over "from an academic sphere to real assistance."

Far from everyone in Russia is ready to welcome mediation by international organizations in resolving the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict. In the opinion of General Vladimir Achalov's analytical group under the Russian parliament's organizational department, as presented in a recent report to the parliament presidium, Georgia, "being incapable of protecting itself against its immediate southern neighbors, will call on NATO to fill up all

the military infrastructure that exists there, which will result in a situation in which NATO missiles and aircraft will be stationed in Abkhazia, targeted at Russia."

While the Russian executive branch is working out its position on the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict, the parliament's proposals are also acquiring increasingly sharper contours. In particular the Achalov group deems inconsistent the thesis about "the intrastate character of the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict" and therefore rejects Georgia's reference to the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act on the inviolability of the borders of the former USSR republics. In the opinion of the report's authors, "by the moment of the disintegration of the USSR the republics' borders were not of an international-legal but of an administrative character. And it is only with regard to the outside borders of the former USSR that one may talk about their international-legal recognition."

Parliament analysts believe that Georgia's claims to Abkhazia are groundless "in view of the absence of an international-legal treaty recognizing Georgia as an independent state," while the fact that Georgia (as well as a number of other former USSR republics) has been admitted to the United Nations is not recognized as such. The Achalov group also points to the fact that back in August 1990 Abkhazia adopted a Declaration on Sovereignty and therefore by admitting Georgia to the United Nations, the international community violated this Declaration.

As for the executive branch, so far it proceeds from the existing reality. Russian Ambassador to Georgia Vladimir Zemskoy has proposed to Shevardnadze, by way of a new initiative, that a meeting be held with the participation of Georgia, Russia, and Abkhazia. Its date is to be set in the next few days.

[Article contains the following boxed passage]

Proposals by the analytical group of the Russian Supreme Soviet with regard to Georgia and the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict

—To work out a uniform concept for Russia's Caucasus policy; not to close Russia's border with Georgia; to "coordinate the activity of all ministries interested in seeing an end to the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict."

—To organize a meeting between leaders of Russia, Georgia, and Abkhazia. Should the Georgian side refuse, use the services of intermediaries—the North Caucasus republics, the United Nations, the CSCE, and other international organizations.

—To deideologize relations with Georgia and "abandon demonstration of support for Shevardnadze."

—To make the signing of a treaty with Georgia "strictly conditional on Tbilisi's willingness to stop hostilities and pull out the troops from the territory of Abkhazia, and in the future—to restore the status quo as of the moment the conflict began—14 August 1992."

The Russian Foreign Affairs Ministry's CIS department, the Russian Embassy in Tbilisi, and the Georgian Foreign Ministry have refused to comment on the substance of the latest Russian-Georgian contacts.

Foreign Ministry Official Meets Cuban Ambassador

LD2604152093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1457 GMT 26 Apr 93

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Grigoriy Mamedov received today Cuban Ambassador to Russia R. Montenegro at his request.

In the course of conversation they discussed a number of issues connected with the present state and prospects for further development of Russian-Cuban relations.

Raul Castro 'Revelations' on USSR Dismissed

PM2804110993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Apr 93 First Edition p 4

[Yevgeniy Bay article: "Soviet Union-Cuba: 'The Pandora Affair'—Cuban Leadership Reveals Secrets of Relations with Moscow"]

[Text] In the early eighties the top leadership of the Soviet Union warned Cuba that it would not get involved in military operations against the United States if the latter carried out armed intervention on the island.

Raul Castro, younger brother of the Cuban revolution's leader and minister of the Cuban Armed Forces, had occasion to hear that himself at the time. Now matters that were kept in the strictest secrecy for decades are being expounded in detail by Raul Castro in an extensive interview in the newspaper EL SOL DE MEXICO, ITAR-TASS correspondent S. Gorbunov reports from the Mexican capital.

The three separately published parts of the interview contain revelations by the number two man in the Cuban hierachy that were inconceivable in the past.

It notably becomes clear that, soon after Reagan came to power in the United States, the Cuban leadership sent Raul Castro to Moscow to brief the Kremlin on the viewpoint of Havana, which was very fearful of some kind of American action against Cuba at the time. According to Raul Castro, the conference in Moscow was attended by "the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR defense minister, and the Central Committee secretary for international questions."

Having heard Castro out, Brezhnev gave the following response: "We cannot fight in Cuba because it is 11,000 km away," and added: "If we go there, we'll get our heads smashed."

In Raul Castro's own words, he and his elder brother "found it difficult to endure in silence" this event, which the top Cuban leadership code-named the "Pandora

Affair." In public Moscow and Havana continued to demonstrate "strengthening bonds of friendship" in order to "disorient the enemy."

That was the thrust of the latest revelation by Raul Castro, published last Friday. A day earlier, in the preceding instalment of the interview, he expounded Havana's position on another question of equal moment, the question of who ultimately is in debt to whom—Moscow to Havana or Havana to Moscow? According to Castro, the Caribbean island represented "a strategic asset as the key to the Gulf of Mexico." "If it were possible to assess in material terms the aid we have given the Soviet Union in this respect and the risk our side has taken, Cuba would turn out to be the former Union's creditor rather than debtor," Raul Castro maintains.

IZVESTIYA asked V. Stanchenko, senior staffer at the Institute for the World Economy and International Relations, who is one of the leading specialists on relations in the Moscow-Havana-Washington triangle, to comment on the Cuban leadership's position.

[Stanchenko] This is not the first time that Havana has accused Moscow of leading Cuba up a historical blind alley. To maintain the regime the Cuban authorities need an enemy image; it is essential to discredit the positive changes in the world and present the country as a beleaguered fortress with not just U.S. imperialism, but in fact its recent ally, too, standing under its walls.

At the same time a kind of new, pragmatic approach to the problem of relations with the permanent enemy—the United Sttes—can be seen in Raul Castro's interview. Clearly Havana has sensed there is an opportunity for changes in the foreign policy of the Clinton administration, which is not seeking to resort to strong-arm pressure on Cuba. Here Castro is counting on settling relations between Havana and Washington on a mutually acceptable basis, since that is the only way to prevent the ultimate collapse of Cuba's economy.

But that requires the regime to show itself to the world in a somewhat different light. And in that context Raul Castro is promoting a new version of events via the Mexican press—Havana is not to blame for inflaming confrontation in the Caribbean during the Cold War or for exacerbating American-Cuban relations. The Cuban regime was merely the obedient agent of the will of the former USSR, for which Cuba served as a "strategic redoubt at the mouth of the Gulf of Mexico."

For decades the Soviet leadership did indeed put no mean effort into creating a powerful military infrastructure on the island, and perhaps the use of the unsinkable Cuban base for military operations against the United States was considered in the General Staff's scenarios. I cannot remember, however, this question ever being raised on a practical level. History shows that after the Soviet missiles were withdrawn from the island in 1962 and a gentleman's agreement was achieved between Kennedy and Khrushchev, the Soviet leadership avoided steps liable to provoke U.S. counteraction against Cuba. However, in my view, Raul Castro fails to mention the main thing. Cuba's present woes are not due to someone's having led it up a blind alley and abandoned it to the mercy of fate. The main cause of the very severe crisis is the reckless foreign and domestic policy of Castro himself, which has condemned the country to dependence and poverty. The Cuban people have been denied the right of choice. Their choice is made for them by a military junta which has held power for 34 years now and existed all that time on colossal injections from the USSR. This multibillion payment to keep the dictatorial regime afloat is incommensurable with the celebrated value which Cuba might have presented to Moscow in political, military, and intelligence terms. The Cuban people will still have to repay the debts accumulated unbeknown to them, and the canniness of Raul Castro in adopting the pose of the USSR's creditor will not help them.

The revision of historical responsibility and the complaints about the excessive military outlay which Cuba has borne all on its own since it was "cast aside" by Moscow will scarcely be heeded in Washington. The U.S. position remains unchanged: As long as human rights are grossly violated in Cuba, Castro cannot hope for aid or international cooperation.

For more than three decades Cuba has played a destabilizing role in relations in the Americas and throughout the world. The Soviet contribution to this enterprise is not in question; however, the authoritarian regime's attempts to shirk all responsibility and to portray itself as merely an obedient tool in the treacherous hands of Moscow are not going to fool anyone.

Flight Engineer of Plane Shot Down in Angola Dies

LD2704205693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1905 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Buyanov]

[Text] Luanda April 27 TASS—Vladimir Nesterenko, a flight engineer of the Russian AN-12 plane, died of wounds in the military hospital of the Angolan town of Luena on Tuesday. The aircraft of the Syktyvkar Airline which worked for the U.N. world food programme was shot down by militants of the opposition UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] group on Monday. The crew's commander A. Orlov is in hospital in a serious condition.

The details of this tragedy became known on Tuesday. The AN-12 delivered a cargo of humanitarian aid to the administrative centre of Moxico Province in eastern Angola and flew to the town of Catumbela, Bengela Province. However, in 13 minutes after the plane took off a missile was fired at it, hitting one of the engines. The crew managed to turn the crippled aircraft round to return to Luena. During the emergency landing, the aircraft skipped the runway and rolled to a stop 150

meters from it, right on the mine field. Nesterenko who jumped on the ground hit a mine. Fragments injured Orlov.

An aircraft of the Belgian humanitarian organisation Doctors Without Borders with a surgeon aboard flew to Luena on Tuesday, Angolan Radio reported. The crewmates who remained alive are expected to be taken to Luanda today.

An Angolan employee who worked within the framework of the U.N. programme died in the area of Luena in mid April when hostilities stepped up there. The aircraft that was sent to the town and was to evacuate the staff of international charity organisations came under UNITA fire. After this incident, the United Nations decided to halt all flights to the capital of Moxico Province. A question arises in this connection who sanctioned the flight of the Russian plane, which caused the loss of human life.

Shokhin Comments on London EBRD Board Meeting

LD2704144193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1414 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Voronkov]

[Text] London April 27 TASS—The West has taken positively the preliminary results of the Russian referendum, they view it as a sign of further Russian cooperation with the world and integration with the world economic community, Russian Vice-Premier Aleksandr Shokhin told ITAR-TASS.

The official is attending the annual meeting of the board of governors of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD]. In his opinion, the West has abandoned the expectation policy and begun to discuss specific interaction issues. Time has come for the bank to act on the full scale and for western partners to pass over from political declarations to real implementation of projects, noted Shokhin.

The vice-premier admitted sometimes Russia is unable to accept foreign financing, since a corresponding mechanism has not been adjusted so far. Sometimes the West is unable to fulfill the packages in due time, which is related to the issuance procedure of corresponding documents.

The seven industrialized nations decided two weeks ago to allocate 43 billion U.S. dollars worth of financial aid to Russia. If some technical difficulties arise during the money allocation, it will be necessary to use alternative mechanisms for its reception, he said.

The International Monetary Fund is discussing a possibility to render assistance to Commonwealth states if Russia, which loses much due to its delivery of oil, gas and other strategic materials to former Soviet republics at a low price, starts to use world prices. Thus, the Commonwealth states will receive easy-term credits not from Russia but from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, which will be good for all sides.

EBRD To Help Develop Small, Medium Businesses

LD2704200493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1815 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Voronkov]

[Text] London April 27 TASS—Fifty three representatives from shareholder countries, the European Community and the European Investment Bank as well as 3,000 guests and delegates discussed the activity of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) at the two-day annual meeting of the bank's Board of Governors. Participants in the meeting, which ended in the British capital today, mapped out the guidelines for the Eurobank's work in the period ahead.

The beginning of the meeting coincided with the summing up of the returns from the Russian referendum and speakers at the forum voiced satisfaction that Russia has clearly confirmed its commitment to pursue the path of democracy and economic reforms.

The Eurobank orientates itself exactly at this direction. It was set up two years ago to help central and east European countries in the tortuous period of shunting their economies onto the tracks of civilised development by financing entrepreneurial initiative in those countries.

A key issue examined at the meeting of the EBRD's Board of Governors was the proposal by the Group of Seven industrialised states that a special bank to provide financial assistance to small and medium-size enterprises be set up in Russia. These businesses are an important link in the privatization process and in the market economy as a whole.

To begin with, the Eurobank will form a 300-million-dollar fund to aid Russian small businesses. Speakers at the forum voiced the need for the EBRD's more vigorous involvement in fostering small and medium businesses by extending assistance to local financial organisations, lending technical support to the newly formed enterprises and participating in privatisation.

The idea about the new bank is only being studied in the EBRD. Russian Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin, who attended the Board of Governors' meeting, favoured forming the fund for small and medium-size businesses as soon as possible.

In this regard, he did not rule out the possibility of creating a special financial institution in Russia to service small and medium business but observed that quite a number of investment and credit institutes have

already been founded in the country, which are still "looking for a job for themselves."

This year, Russia also expects from the Eurobank credits for the development of the oil and gas sector, communications and conversion, Shokhin said. The list of potential projects is very big: it reaches several billion dollars.

Among the tasks of the EBRD London forum was to accord to the western business world opportunities for fostering cooperation with our organisation, the bank's chief economist John Flemming told ITAR-TASS. The number of points of contact and interaction with EBRD partners are being significantly increased. He voiced the supposition that the funds to be set aside by the bank for various projects in central and eastern Europe in the current calender year will reach 2-2.5 billion ECUs.

The next meeting of the EBRD's Board of Governors will take place in St. Petersburg next April.

Prospects of Relations With EC Examined

PM2704115793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 27 Apr 93 p 7

[Valeriy Andrianov article: "The Door to Europe. Will It Open for Russia?"]

[Text] The window to Europe, which was hacked open a long time ago by Peter the Great, is by now too narrow for Russia. If our country were to join the European economic system on an equal footing, it needs at least a door. In other words, it is extremely important to have an agreement with the EC which would guarantee our economy's stage-by-stage inclusion in the European economic area.

The EC is Russia's main economic partner. The community countries account for about 67 percent of our foreign currency exports. But the economic treaty with the EC, concluded back in 1989, does not take into account either the level of our cooperation or the changes which have occurred in Russia in the last few years.

This is why talks began in Brussels last November, aiming at the conclusion of a partnership and cooperation agreement between our country and the EC. It is planned to enshrine therein the so-called principle of four freedoms—freedom of the movement of goods, services, labor, and finance.

Economic blocs are now being created all over the world. The EC is the most durable and most powerful among them. The 12 European countries which make up this union not only engage in free trade without customs duties but also share a common foreign economic policy toward third countries and a unified customs tariff. All foreign economic functions have been delegated to central organs. Even when it comes to GATT, these countries speak in a single voice rather than individually. This means that Russia cannot effectively cooperate with, say, France or Germany on an individual basis. It will inevitably have to seek solutions to existing problems with the community as a whole.

Meanwhile, relations between Russia and the EC cannot be described as trouble-free for the time being. The reforms in East Europe and the territory of the former USSR have certainly affected the volume and geographical direction of the flow of trade. The collapse of CEMA, the breakdown of economic ties between CIS countries, the liberalization of foreign economic activity in Russia, the conversion—all these factors have naturally affected Russia's presence in the world markets. In some cases there has been a considerable increase in the delivery of Russian goods to Europe, primarily raw materials and semimanufactures. This has had an impact on the deployment of forces in the European market and has prompted a corresponding reaction.

Unfortunately, some EC legislative acts are blatantly discriminating against Russia. For example, to this day it is defined as a country with a state trade system. This allows the use of all possible methods to regulate and restrict our exports, especially since Russia has not yet joined GATT. It is curious that, for some unknown reason, this regime does not extend to the Baltic countries.

The charge of state monopoly in trade, which is leveled against Russia, creates a legal basis for the introduction of discrimination quotas against our products. They regulate the importation of Russia's most important exports in the EC, including cars, motors, instruments, clocks and watches, and semimanufactures, rendering them essentially paltry. Italy, for example, allows the importation of only nine motors of a certain category and 29 motorcycles or mopeds from Russia.

Trade in ferrous metals offers another graphic example. Earlier each European country had its own national quotas on imports, but in 1993 the European Coal and Steel Community set unified import volumes for all twelve states. And now the CIS countries and Georgia are allowed to ship not more than 480,000 tonnes of ferrous metals to the EC. Compared with trade in previous years, this is impermissibly low, and yet ferrous metals are one of the basic categories in our exports.

Furthermore, comparing our quotas with the share of Romania or Bulgaria, it could be said that they are almost symbolic. For example, Bulgaria's quota for hot-rolled steel is 131,000 tonnes, Romania's is 50,000 tonnes, and the total quota for all CIS countries is just 140,000 tonnes. Steel plate quotas have been set at 53,000 tonnes for Bulgaria, 45,000 tonnes for Romania, and only 49,000 tonnes for the CIS. And yet Russia's production potential and world market share are, to put it mildly, several times greater than those of East European states.

Furthermore, it is, to say the least, improper to set single quotas for the entire commonwealth in the present political and economic situation. Russia and the other CIS member countries are sovereign states recognized by

the world community and, second, such an approach could exacerbate economic relations between former USSR republics. After all, the procedure for dividing these quotas among them would be hardly acceptable by any of them. According to experts, the mechanism currently applied by the EC is far removed from today's economic realities and worldwide practice.

The absence of a clear-cut treaty between Russia and the EC also leads to other unpleasant misunderstandings. One of the most painful problems at present involves the trade in textile goods. The world textile turnover is regulated by a special international agreement, access to which is not available to Russia. A treaty between our country and the EC, setting rigid quotas on the imports of Russian textiles, was in operation from 1989 until early 1993. But the community has virtually ceased its application and is in no hurry to conclude a new agreement. Consequently, we have been pushed 10 years back—the EC's unilateral restrictions, as set in 1983, have automatically come into force. And now the deliveries of Russian textiles to the largest market have been substantially reduced. Russian producers, to whom exports in many cases offer the sole opportunity to remain afloat, are in a state of crisis. Meanwhile, exports of textiles from community countries to Russia continue unhindered and exert strong pressure on our domestic market.

If Russia succeeds in concluding a partnership and cooperation agreement with the EC, all these problems will be at least partially resolved. The talks are looking at possibilities to introduce stage by stage a free trade regime between our country and the community. In other words, our goods will be imported free of customs duties in Europe, as will European goods in our country. It is well known that the EC recently extended to Russia the so-called General System of Preferences. This enables us to export a large proportion of goods to Europe without liability to customs duties. But this privilege cannot take the place of a fully-fledged economic agreement. All the system of preferences does is support the Russian economy during the period of reforms which is so hard for it. Presumably it will remain in force for three years, but it could be withdrawn at any time by an EC decision. Furthermore, quantitative limits are set on imports without payment of customs duty. Output imported in excess of this "ceiling" will be liable to normal customs duties. Unfortunately, the EC system of preferences does not cover some of our very important export goods—the aforementioned ferrous metals and fish.

At present, however, Russia is hardly ready to sign a free trade treaty. Experts from the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, representing our country at the talks, are suggesting that the agreement should make provision for a certain delay. The point is that our industry is still weak and unable to withstand foreign competition. Therefore, Russia will still have to resort to protectionism. But this cannot last indefinitely. Industry must be given a precise date by which state protection will cease, so as to take the appropriate measures. Furthermore, we still have to bring domestic prices in line with world prices and create normal conditions for competition. Unless these conditions are observed, the free trade treaty could only damage our economy.

The Russian side proposes that our relations with the EC are made subject to the universally accepted norms and rules of international trade, in other words the GATT provisions. In the very near future Russia will start preparing to apply for membership of this international organization, but this will require quite a long time. Furthermore, we will have to make considerable efforts to bring our legislation and our economic infrastructure in line with GATT requirements, but if the community were to start building relations with our country on the GATT principle now, this will make it possible to avoid discrimination against Russian goods in the European market.

It is assumed that a separate section of the agreement with the EC will be devoted to the trade in services. A General Agreement on the Trade in Services is now being elaborated within the GATT framework. As distinct from the EC, Russia is not taking part in this process. Nonetheless, it is planned that the treaty will provide for a mechanism to gradually open the services market to Russia.

Quite a few questions could be prompted by the treaty's section governing the free movement if capital. After all, Russia has recently encountered the problem of "currency flight." Bearing this in mind, experts offer agreement formulas which would ensure the repatriation of profits and prevent the uncontrolled outflow of capital from the country.

Many Russians are tempted by the prospects of going abroad to work. It is well known, however, that most Western countries are introducing serious restrictions on the influx of foreign workers. After all, the labor market is a very specific and sensitive sphere. This question has not been finally settled even with the framework of the community itself. Only eight EC countries have signed the so-called Schengen agreement and have abolished tight border controls along their borders. The remaining four states (Britain, Ireland, Denmark, and Greece), fearing an influx of immigrants from third countries and an increase in crime, maintain their border controls.

This is why an agreement between Russia and the EC could not, of course, guarantee our workers' free access to the Western market. Nonetheless, there ought to be reliable guarantees that any of our compatriots legally working abroad will not be subject to discrimination by entrepreneurs. Furthermore, when inviting specialists from Russia, Western businessmen will not experience the difficulties they encounter now.

Thus, the partnership and cooperation agreement will affect almost all spheres of economic life. Three rounds of talks have already been held with EC representatives. The fourth will be held in April. The agreement's conclusion is planned already this year. It could open a reliable door to Europe for Russia.

Political Issues

Yeltsin Bans Rallies in Downtown Squares, Streets

LD2804130893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1218 GMT 28 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow April 28 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin banned demonstrations and rallies in three downtown squares and two streets until a law on the status of Moscow is adopted and defines places banned for public actions.

The resolution of the president, distributed by his press service on Wednesday [28 April], says that until the law "on the status of the Russian capital" is adopted and the boundaries of territories close to the buildings of supreme legislative, executive and judiciary authorities are defined, rallies, demonstrations, pickets and manifestations are banned in Red, Novaya, Staraya Squares and in Ilyinka and Bezymyannyi Streets.

The resolution comes into force since the moment of signing.

Yeltsin Signs Decree on New Crime Commission

LD2804150893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1400 GMT 28 Apr 93

[Text] Moscow, 28 Apr—Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin signed a decree today on organizational measures to intensify the battle against crime, in connection with its increasing rise and with the widening of corruption that represents a serious threat to state interests. This has been announced by the presidential press service.

The decree stipulates that the president of the Russian Federation will be personally responsible for the general management of the Interdepartmental Commission of the Russian Federation Security Council for the battle against crime and corruption. The chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation has been included as a permanent member of the Interdepartmental Commission.

The Justice Ministry and the state legal administration of the Russian Federation president have been instructed to prepare the necessary legal legislative acts, which would ensure effective functioning of the Interdepartmental Commission with the cooperation from all law-enforcement bodies.

Yeltsin Orders Political Parties To Reregister

LD2804110093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 28 Apr 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] It is not just ancient Russian buildings which are being restored, but also, unfortunately, such relics as the CPSU and the Communist Party of the RSFSR.

It was learned today that Russian President Boris Yeltsin has issued a decree on additional measures to prevent political parties and their organizations from interfering in the activities of state bodies, enterprises, institutions, and organizations. Federal agencies have been instructed to reregister political parties and public movements, to ensure that the primary organizations of these parties and movements are allowed to form along territorial lines. In no circumstances are they allowed to use the offices of Russian Federation state bodies, institutions, or organizations.

Shakhray Presents New Constitution at News Conference

LD2804150393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 28 Apr 93

[Report by correspondent M. Tumanova; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Tumanova] The referendum is over. The time has come to work on laws that will make the reforms irreversible. At today's meeting, Russian Vice Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray and the lawyer Sergey Alekseyev—who is director of the Institute of Personal Law—acquainted journalists with the main provisions of the new draft constitution. The text incorporates the best experience of European and U.S. law and, of course, makes allowances for the special features of the Russian state.

The constitution will be in two sections. The first deals with the foundations of the state system and the rights and freedoms of citizens. The second includes the Federation Treaty.

[Shakhray] Under this draft, the Russian Federation will be a presidential republic, basically.

[Tumanova] Henceforth, the president will be independent of any branch of power. His main duties will be to safeguard the state's unity, the rights and freedoms of citizens, and the balance between the legislative and executive authorities in the event of a parliamentary crisis.

Sergey Alekseyev noted that it would not be correct to call Russia a purely presidential republic under the new constitution. Many elements of parliamentarianism would be retained. However, whereas before deputies often spoke on behalf of the people without knowing anything about the views of the people, a mechanism has now been drafted under which the people would exercise total power.

[Alekseyev] If one were to associate anyone's name with this draft, it ought to be the name of Andrey

Dmitriyevich Sakharov. We have tried not to deviate a millimeter from his ideals and values.

[Tumanova] A constituent assembly will probably adopt the new constitution. Asked when Russia would actually get the final version of its new basic law, Shakhray replied that this might happen as soon as the end of this year.

Urges Repeal of Decisions Blocking Reform

MK2804091493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Apr 93 p 1

[Vera Kuznetsova report: "Presidential Plan Starts Working. Shakhray, Alekseyev on New Constitution"]

[Text] The official presentation of a draft new Constitution yesterday at the government's press center by Sergey Shakhray and Sergey Alekseyev is clearly the first card in the game of "presidential solitaire" that has just begun. For the most part, Yeltsin's priorities have been known since before the referendum: constitutional reform and early elections. As for the latter, now that Boris Nikolayevich is morally unobjectionable having won a vote of confidence at the referendum, he may put off presidential elections until 1996. Technically speaking, the deputies have also broken even, as the saying goes. The percentage of the voters who do not have confidence in them, however (especially if compared with those supporting Yeltsin), is great. Deputy Prime Minister Shakhray believes that after 25 April the incumbent deputy corps is not entitled to relieve the president of his post, to disband the government, or to adopt a new Constitution. Shakhray emphasized that attempts to interpret the events of 25 April as a simple poll will not succeed.

"The referendum has taken place. According to the law it carries the highest legal authority and does not require approval." Hence, according to Shakhray, the deputies may not interpret it the way they see fit. Moreover, "the Supreme Soviet and other authorities, taking into account the popular will, have either to repeal or suspend those decisions aimed at hamstringing reform." Naturally, it is not the dissolution of parliament that is at issue. "On the contrary," Shakhray said, "there is room for cooperation."

This "room" was defined by the deputy prime minister himself, who noted that the incumbent deputies could give carte blanche to constitutional and economic reforms, and also lay the groundwork for early parliamentary elections. But they may just as well refuse to give carte blanche. What then? "There is no ignoring this," Shakhray believes, "but the president and the government are also obligated to comply with the decisions made at the referendum."

The inventory of deputies' decisions regarding the economy has been checked. In the next few days, the president and the government will present to the Supreme Soviet "an economic package" for consideration. An executive branch action plan will be discussed at an expanded government meeting on 29 April.

As for the new Constitution, Yeltsin has an extremely simple plan: to make an appeal to the Federation components. On that same day, 29 April, the draft proposed by the president will be officially distributed among them. Then, according to Sergey Alekseyev, various options are possible. Either under pressure from the [proposed] Council of the Federation (at the Ninth Congress, a total of 74 Federation components expressed their wish to establish it) the deputies announce the formation of a Constitutional Assembly to adopt a new constitution, or another appeal to the people will follow.

Poltoranin Urges Congress To Dissolve Itself

MK2804122993 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Apr 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Mikhail Poltoranin: 'Russians Have Shaken Communist Gibberish Out of Their Heads'"]

[Text] "The referendum has consolidated the people around the president and his course," is how Mikhail Poltoranin, chief of the Russian Federation Federal Information Center [FIC], described the main result of the all-Russian poll in an interview with an ITAR-TASS correspondent.

The FIC chief said that the most important lesson to be drawn from the referendum is the moral revival of the citizens: "Psychologically, Russia at present has a people different even from what it had in August 1991." In his view, the Russians "have shaken Communist gibberish out of their heads and henceforth will orient themselves toward a civilized way of life."

The second result of the referendum is that "the president has been given carte blanche by the people to take decisive action," because on 25 April Boris Yeltsin received more votes than even at the presidential election of June 1991.

The popular confidence, in Poltoranin's view, means that Russian citizens support the idea of a presidential republic, the essence of which was laid down in the text of a new draft Constitution made public on the eve of the referendum: "The people want a strong, robust state without political turmoil."

The third conclusion drawn by the FIC chief from the results of the referendum is "a complete collapse of the destructive policies pursued by the deputy corps and supported by the vice president and a number of political parties and movements such as Civic Union, Travkin's party, and the outright opposition." According to Poltoranin, political figures who were denied confidence by the people—who chose to support the president—must resign "if there is elementary human decency left in

them." "The Congress of People's Deputies should dissolve itself, for by denouncing the reformist course carried out by the president the congress has exposed its anti-popular essence," he stressed.

Giving credit to popular wisdom, Poltoranin noted that "the citizens of Russia have better than any analysts unmasked all the politicians and revealed their true faces."

The FIC chief called on members of democratic movements "not to relax, but to carry the course of reform further." At the same time, Poltoranin congratulated his colleagues—journalists—on an impressive victory and assured them that "the press will be able to breathe freely." This will be seen to by the president and the FIC despite threats from the parliament.

Answering a question about what he meant by the need for "decisive action on the part of the president," Mikhail Poltoranin pointed to the urgent need to "make the deputy corps establish a legislative framework for the course of reform that was supported by the people." If the Supreme Soviet is unable to create this legislative framework promptly, then "the president will have to look for another lever to expedite reform by using the Council of the Federation and presidential edicts."

According to Mikhail Poltoranin, government reshuffles are possible after the referendum because there are people there who hew to anti-reformist views.

In conclusion, Mikhail Poltoranin said: "The president is now aiming his efforts first of all at creating conditions for normal work in the country."

Zorkin Ponders Constitution's Status

PM2704125193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Apr 93 First Edition p 2

[Article by Constitutional Court Chairman Valeriy Zorkin: "We Have All Sworn Allegiance to the Same Constitution"]

[Text] I.

When taking the oath as a Russian Federation Constitutional Court judge, I ceremonially swore to perform my duties as judge, obeying only the Russian Federation Constitution—nothing and no one else. It would probably have been hard for me to imagine that just over a year later people would start openly demanding in the loftiest tones and in the loftiest places that judges obey not the existing Constitution but something and someone else. The justification for this is the thesis—unique in the history of constitutionalism—that the Constitution has allegedly become unconstitutional. History has known progressive and reactionary constitutions with talented and untalented authors, stable constitutions, and those which were often amended, but there have never been any "unconstitutional" constitutions. There is no doubt that a trail is being blazed here.

And yet this phrase is not just a scathing expression. Both the press and statements from top statesmen and politicians are demanding the immediate suspension of the current Constitution on the grounds that it is unconstitutional. Why is that their view of it? There are just two "explanations": First, it is a "Brezhnevite" constitution; second, it denies the principle of the separation of powers by laying down that all power is held by the soviets—or, rather, by the Congress of People's Deputies.

But the 1993 edition of the Russian Federation Constitution differs fundamentally from the one adopted in 1978! And it differs precisely in terms of the constitutionalism which its current critics are seemingly concerned about. It introduces the principle of the separation of powers, it contains norms for its practical implementation (above all, the institution of the president—all of whose power previously belonged to the soviets—is set up). A most important innovation is the inclusion of the Federation Treaty in the Constitution. The democratic import of the fundamental law has been significantly strengthened by the fundamental revision of the statutes on citizens' rights on the basis of the Russian Declaration of the Rights and Freedoms of the Individual and the Citizen, and international acts on human rights. Local soviets have been turned from organs of state power into organs of local self-administration. The Constitutional Court has been set up. I could add a lot more, but this is enough to show that the current Constitution no longer has anything to do with the "Brezhnevite" constitution.

In setting about introducing into public life the principles of people's power, federalism, and the separation of powers, everyone connected with this work realizes perfectly well that it cannot be done overnight, that it will naturally be necessary to prepare a new constitution, and that the current constitution will have to be reformed before the new one comes into force. This reform has been carried out with the help of the very amendments whose large numbers are now for some reason being blamed on the Congress of People's Deputies and being termed the reason for the Constitution's "unconstitutionality."

The president states that he has "not sworn allegiance to this Constitution," although it is obvious that people swear allegiance not so much to some text or other in a folder, but to the fundamental law as a symbol of the state and the guarantor of stable authority and citizen's rights. Should the president have to take another oath after every amendment?

There is no detailed, absolutely complete, and eternally unchanged model of the distribution of powers between separate authorities that is binding for all countries. But the discovery that the separation of powers is imperfect or incomplete has never been a basis anywhere for demanding the immediate suspension of the Constitution. These factors can only be arguments in favor of amending it or adopting a new constitution (as was the

case in France in 1958, for instance). The Russian Federation Constitution is imperfect in this sense too, since the constitutional formulation of the separation of powers is not complete.

The most vivid illustration of this is the retention in the Constitution of the right of the Congress of People's Deputies to resolve any issue coming under the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation. Needless to say, this institution of a transitional period does not sit well with the principle of the separation of powers and should, in time, disappear from the Constitution as having served its purpose. But until this happens, the Constitutional Court—as it has officially stated—will not permit the use of this atavism and will proceed in its actions on the basis of the constitutional principle of the separation of powers. In other words, Articles 104 and 109 are interpreted by the court in the context of and in conjunction with Articles 1 and 3. It is on this basis that we decide the cases which come to us.

Yet both we judges and the president have sworn allegiance to the Constitution—where this rule already featured—and nobody saw this as a reason to refuse to take the oath or to refuse to observe the Constitution as the state's fundamental law. It is quite impermissible to do so now either.

As for the references from critics of the current Constitution to the fact that recent Congresses of People's Deputies have made more than 300 amendments to the Constitution, wholly changing its sense and content (allegedly removing any obligation to observe it), I would like to note the following.

First, all those who swore to observe the Constitution on taking office have neither the legal nor the moral right—for as long as they occupy that office—to renounce their oath, even if the Constitution has ceased to be to their liking. This conflict can only be resolved in one of two ways—either by acting in accordance with the Constitution, or by relinquishing your powers. There is no third way!

Second, 150 of these 300 amendments merely change the name of the RSFSR to the Russian Federation, exclude references to the USSR, and record the changed names of Federation members. Around 100 amendments are accounted for by the inclusion in the Constitution of the provisions of the Federation Treaty and the Declaration of the Rights of the Individual and the Citizen. Twenty amendments are accounted for by the continuing implementation of the principles of the separation of powers. Needless to say, these amendments have altered the Constitution, but by no means in the direction its critics claim.

There are not even 10 amendments relating to the powers of the supreme organs of state power. Some of these expanded the powers of the executive, others expanded the powers of legislative organs. One clarified the powers of the Constitutional Court. But there has not been a single fundamental change in the status of the president to make him powerless. This notion may be very widespread, but it is still a myth. As is the claim that, in the wake of the amendments, nobody can do anything without violating the Constitution. This too is the fruit either of a widespread radical fantasy or of the radicals' desire to restrict themselves merely to enumerating amendments, rather than grasping their content.

There have only been a handful of amendments that actually pertain to a change in the balance of powers between the Congress and Supreme Soviet on the one hand, and the president on the other hand. The Supreme Soviet, which already had the right to repeal presidential edicts, has gained the right to suspend them pending a Constitutional Court ruling. The original ban on the use of presidential powers to change the national state system or to dissolve or suspend legally elected organs of power has been supplemented to the effect that if the president does act in this way, his powers will be immediately discontinued. A provision has been brought in on the need for Supreme Soviet consent to the appointment of four ministers by the president.

Needless to say, our Constitution is not perfect—like any law in a transitional period it contains provisions which do not reflect today's reality. But it is perfidious to publicly dub it paper suitable only for use in a lavatory (Ye. Bonner, IZVESTIYA, 6 April 1993). Without our current level of legal awareness and with political feelings running high, such statements—and, I would note, from a prestigious human rights campaigner!—merely militate against constitutional stability and legality.

II.

Any democratic constitution is created for citizens and for the authorities—but in different ways. A constitution is designed to guarantee the rights and freedoms of citizens. As regards people in power, it should restrict their freedom to act "at their own discretion" with regard both to citizens and to other authorities. Let us hope that the critics' rejection of the current Constitution does not extend to its principles, to the chapters on the rights of the individual and the citizen, or to the provision on the practical separation of powers.

It is obvious that the critics are unhappy about the constitutional restrictions which rule out willfulness by the authorities—or, rather, by one branch of the authorities. But, while removing the existing framework provided by the Constitution, nothing is being put forward to take its place apart from a future new Constitution. This means that for a certain indeterminate period of time there will exist in the country a system of unwritten laws which everyone will interpret in their own way—or, rather, will be forced to interpret as ordered by someone more powerful. The force of law, which is weak even now, will be wholly supplanted by the law of force.

The authorities are already acting wilfully. But they do so in violation of the Constitution! If the "unconstitutional" Constitution is disqualified, their willful actions will be "legal." Although at the moment wilfulness can

still be curbed—albeit not always effectively—by the Constitutional Court and other Russian Federation organs, if the Constitution and, consequently, the courts were to disappear, strong-arm confrontation would be the only way to resolve clashes between the authorities.

Monstrous as it may seem, the disciples of the concept of "unconstitutionality" are striving for precisely that. One of them actually wrote the following—and not in a private diary, but in a widely published newspaper: "We have no Constitution... And, since there is no Constitution, the Constitutional Court is superfluous, since what can you tell it to interpret and uphold?" (V. Selyunin, IZVESTIYA, 9 April 1993). If we have no Constitution then the writer is correct. But this is not the whole truth. No court can exist without a constitution—not just the Constitutional Court. If there is no Constitution we do not need a president either, since what can you tell him to observe, what rights and freedoms would he respect and uphold, how would he take the oath? What functions would he exercise, since they are defined by the Constitution? Parliament too would be superfluous, since the legal basis for its existence and activities would have disappeared. They would all lose their legitimacy, turning into illegal organs each acting in their own way—or, rather, on the basis of the principle that "might is right."

People are trying to use the concept of an "unconstitutional Constitution" to lead the Constitutional Court judges to self-destruction. Their oath not to obey anything or anyone but the Constitution is turning from a tonic into Socrates' cup of hemlock that will destroy both those who obey the Constitution (because it is allegedly unconstitutional) and those who obey not the Constitution but something (or, rather, someone) else, since then they will be breaking their judge's oath. This is called "having your back to the wall." Anyway, politics is, as they say, a dirty business...

Constitutional radicalism is currently flourishing in Russia. For some people it is a question of either a new constitution or none at all. For others it is a question of only the current Constitution and none other. Both routes, as always with extremism, are blind alleys.

In rejecting the legally destructive concept of the "unconstitutionality of the Constitution," I am by no means denying the need for a new Constitution. But it must be carefully prepared in a balanced way so as to correspond to fundamental legal principles and the highest standards of democracy and human rights. At the same time, it must take account of current Russian realities. Otherwise, it will either be so "perfect" as to be unusable, or it will require immediate alterations, or it will be so "down to earth" that it will not fulfill its main function of making the life of the state and society subordinate to the primacy of the law.

Finally, it is impermissble to compose—there is no other word for it in this context—the Constitution behind closed doors, using only the efforts of lawyers who sometimes have an entirely different specialization and are not very well versed in constitutional law.

A constitution has a prospect of being approved by the people only in the event of its being not the fruit of theoretical questing by "legal technocrats" but the result of an agreement between the main political forces that has been translated by lawyers into the language of legal formulas. A constitution has a prospect of a long life only in the event of its being based on the ideology of consensus and compromise, and if it creates the legal mechanism for its implementation at any future moment of state life between any political formations which recognize the political system enshrined in it.

And one other important point. A constitution, unlike current laws, needs guarantees of heightened stability and of protection from frequent (and not always justified) amendments, often dictated by political aspirations. The text of the new constitution could envisage the following procedure, for instance: Amendments would be adopted first by a two-thirds vote in each chamber, then by a joint session, and would subsequently be ratified if backed by three-quarters of the Federation's members. Foreign experience (the United States, for instance) provides evidence in favor of such guarantees.

III

People sometimes try to justify the rejection of the existing written Constitution in favor of certain unwritten norms of legal justice or "justice of the law" by citing the concept of a so-called broad understanding of right—a truly fruitful and scientific concept of democratic persuasion, a concept of which I, too, as a scholar, am a supporter.

This concept, based on the idea that right [pravo] cannot be reduced to the law [zakon], has undergone development and practical implementation in the Anglo-Saxon system of law.

The mechanism of the supremacy of right in such democratic states as the United States and Britain and in countries which have adopted their legal system, which allows the direct application of the principles of right in the activity of state organs, above all the courts, is based on precisely this idea.

Uniform understanding of these principles, without which right and legality are inconceivable, can, however, be established only via a working system of constitutional state organs which operate according to the principle of the separation of powers.

But if a "broad understanding of right" has as its practical consequence the destruction of the constitutional authorities or their subordination to one of the branches of power, which is consequently elevated to the rank of the sole "exponent" and "interpreter" of the principles of right and the will of the people, that could, as experience of history shows, lead to catastrophe. You only have to recall the "revolutionary sense of justice"

and "revolutionary legality" in our country, which forced Russia to pursue such a grievous path from the Civil War to 1937. The desire to discard the "old right" and directly express "the will of the people" was crowned in the first third of the 20th Century with the bloody dictatorships of Mussolini and Hitler in Italy and Germany. With such a turn of events a "broad interpretation" of right merely conceals its rejection. That is why the Constitutional Court advocates that the principles of constitutionality be exercised on the basis of the Constitution and via the organs created by it rather than through its rejection.

I have frequently had occasion to assert publicly that the current constitution, for all its shortcomings and contradictions, does make it possible to have a strong president, a strong parliament, and effective, independent courts. It makes it perfectly possible to hold talks and reach agreement if, of course, the desire for this exists. In my view, the development of events in the recent past, and the present state of affairs graphically illustrate the fact that the problem does not reside at all in the Constitution but in an obstinate reluctance to compromise. What we have here is a conflict, not of the institutions of power, but of specific individuals in pursuit of their own ends. I will ask just one question: Is such confrontation permissible when the country is in the grips of the most severe economic crisis? In recent time we have loved to argue in our country—in specific terms and in the abstract—about morality. The moral problem is the number one problem for you!

The more time separates us from the events of 20-23 March, the clearer it becomes that the findings of the Constitutional Court were in the end accepted by the president, saved him as constitutional head of state, and possibly saved Russia, too, from severer upheavals. The court came under fire: It was the target of waves of anger from the so-called presidential entourage and that section of the press stoked up by it. That anger was mainly due to the fact that the agreement between the court and the president opened up the opportunity for compromise, which is the heart and soul of any constitution, but is loathed by extremist forces.

The court did not side with either of the political rivals. In accordance with its mission, it merely determined which decisions have right and the law on their side and also expressed its own opinion on what could be done to transform the authorities' confrontation into cooperation.

The central point of the court's proposals was early elections for president and a new parliament (with the dissolution of the Congress of Peopl'e Deputies). The president agreed with that, and the mood among deputies was also favorable. A relevant proposal was made during the Ninth (Extraordinary) Congress of People's Deputies, but agreement was thwarted by the actions of radicals of the extreme left and right of the Russian political ranks which, instead of moving toward agreement, again started looking for enemeies.

The scheduled referendum and its results will make sense only if they are regarded as a means to achieve nationwide accord. Unfortunately, there are signs emerging that reason is again giving way to political fervor. Thus again, in unilateral fashion, without hearing out the opinion of the Constitutional Court, the president is about to start counting votes. He also states that, if the electorate gives the president a vote of confidence and votes for early elections of deputies, the federal legislative branch of power will forfeit its powers and he will act "according to the system of presidential rule" pending new elections. All this seems a regression to that lamentable plan of 20 March, despite the fact that the president had already sensibly abandoned it in edict No. 379 and perhaps precisely thanks to that avoided impeachment.

Without indulging in illusions, one can foresee that other political forces, too, will try to exploit the struggle concerning the referendum to exacerbate anew the confrontation which, if the worst comes to the worst, could degenerate to the point where force is used. To prevent this, and at the same time avert the slide into dictatorship, there will then be no means other than, not early, but immediate elections for a new president and new parliament, although they could prove a few months on to be hopelessly tardy.

In their current wording not a single one of the questions submitted to the referendum in any way envisages the immediate and automatic rescinding of provisions of the constitution or changes to the powers of state organs, just as the answers to them in no way make unambiguously clear what is to be done next. The constitution will operate after the referendum just as it operated prior to it unless it is altered in accordance with established procedure.

At any rate, the situation must be regulated by peaceful means rather than on the basis of confrontation. If this is not done, there will be neither democracy, nor reforms. Everyone must act together within the existing Constitution. There is no other way! Those who attempt unilaterally to go outside the Constitution thereby plunge the country into the abyss.

Rutskoy Sees More Economic Decline, Eyes Next Congress

PM2704145993 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 93 p 1

[Interview with Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy by Ravil Zaripov under "Referendum" rubric: "Maintaining Its Dignity, Russia Has Cast Its Votes;" place and date not given]

[Text] [Rutskoy] Let us count up. In our country 105 million citizens have the right to vote. Somewhere in the order of 65 percent took part in the vote—that is 60 million people. Of these, let us suppose, the majority—32 million—supported the president and his course. That means that 71-72 million people were against, or

did not turn out to vote. It is possible to speak of popular support if 70 percent of those who have the right to vote have voted. But as it is—this is a sociological poll. The fact that the course of the reforms has to be changed is obvious and in order to calm the situation that has developed in society, new elections are needed, including for the presidency. There is no majority on either the third or fourth question.

[Zaripov] Khasbulatov has just expressed the opinion in the Presidium that the referendum has split society and is a stage on the road of weakening statehood in Russia.

[Rutskoy] It has indeed split society. I will tell you something: The next congress has been scheduled for June. No congresses should be held before this; the citizens of Russia should simply be given the chance to satisfy themselves who is right and who is to blame.

I want to make for you the following forecast: In terms of the economy and finances, by October the results will be disastrous. The dollar will cross the 1,000-ruble [R] mark—that is a total crisis in the national currency. All the promises which the president has made in the form of edicts (to raise, increase, and so forth), all this will express itself in the form of the "modest" sum of R3.5 trillion. The budget does not have this kind of money. By June society will have had another chance to see that it has been deceived yet again.

[Zaripov] What platform do "Civic Union" and your party plan to take to June's congress?

[Rutskoy] We must take an economic program to the congress. All these political squabbles must be stopped. We have such a program, elaborated a year ago.

[Zaripov] Following the referendum, can harmony be established in relations between the Russian president and vice president?

[Rutskoy] I have never changed my convictions or standpoints, and I do not intend to do so. My principle remains as before—a socially oriented economy. As for the cries for the vice president to resign, I can reassure everyone. I will not retire, because I was elected on the same ticket as the president. I have enough people, like-minded people, who support my convictions.

Adviser Calls Move Against Rutskoy 'Punitive'

PM2704152393 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 93 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Vice President Removed From Leadership of State Agro-Industrial Committee"]

[Text] Andrey Fedorov, the president's adviser, commented on this decision as follows:

"The decision is completely within the constitutional framework, because it is the president who decides what problems the vice president should tackle and what problems he should not, but the punitive role of this edict is absolutely obvious. The decision was adopted as early as last week, after A. Rutskoy's notorious statements in the Supreme Soviet and the press. It was decided not to publish the decision before the referendum, evidently for fear of an unfavorable reaction from the rural population. But now they have made up their minds, at an opportune moment.

"There is also an ethical side to this story: In signing this edict, Boris Nikolayevich did not deem it possible to talk with the vice president, even by phone."

Referendum Issues

Filatov Denounces 'Bellicose' Remarks on Results

LD2704143893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1300 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Text] [Announcer Yuriy Korotkov] We begin this bulletin with a live report from the Kremlin where a news conference given by Sergey Aleksandrovich Filatov has just ended. Our commentator Aleksandr Ruvinskiy has the details:

[Ruvinskiy] The head of the president's administration disclosed that the results available to the president are almost the same as those announced today by the central commission responsible for running the referendum. He drew journalists' attention to the results on question four and said that the moral outcome for the deputies was a bad one. Altogether 68 percent of those who cast their votes had called for them to face new elections. The people's judgement also has a legal aspect, Filatov stressed, and one of the president's immediate tasks will be to do his utmost to ensure that the new constitution is adopted.

Filatov also dwelled in detail on the second referendum question: confidence in the course of economic reforms being pursued by the president and the government. He noted that this was now giving rise to many questions. Both the Supreme Soviet and Congress have rejected the concept of these reforms. Under pressure from the Congress certain people had been discouraged from implementing the program. This would now have to have consequences, Filatov said.

Furthermore, Filatov stressed that yesterday, in particular, certain people started making bellicose statements about the results of the referendum. He was referring, first and foremost, to Khasbulatov's speech at the Supreme Soviet Presidium. Filatov said that such speeches should stop. Now is not the time for further confrontation. The future of the representative and legislative branch, and ways of shaping it, must now be debated, he added.

Asked about the confrontation between the president and the vice-president, Filatov noted that differences over economic reforms were the main reason for this confrontation, but the people have made their assessment of these reforms and the vice-president must,

naturally, draw the conclusions that this entails. I think those were the main things which were discussed at Filatov's news conference.

[Korotkov] Aleksandr, didn't Filatov say anything about the Russian president's next moves?

[Ruvinskiy] Well, his most important move will be to do everything necessary to ensure that the new constitution is adopted as quickly as possible. That will be the best solution to the crisis.

[Korotkov] Thank you. That was our commentator Aleksandr Ruvinskiy reporting from Filatov's Kremlin news conference.

Yeltsin Ready for 'Decisive' Steps

LD2704181393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 27 Apr 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The main problem now is clearly not how to count the votes. The main problem is how to intepret the results. Fierce quarrels have already broken out in Moscow between those interpreting them. President Yeltsin's opponents says that the referendum is causing a split in society. The president's supporters have a different opinion.

[Begin Sergey Aleksandrovich Filatov recording] The main thing that one can say in the first place is that the president has received a vote of confidence. The second thing, which I consider to be very important, is that the people have in effect acknowledged the economic program and the economic reform which the president began in 1992.

It is very important, proceeding on the basis of this, not only to continue these economic reforms but to carry them out very confidently. The law on the referendum says that referendum results have the effect of law and do not require any further decisions by the Supreme Soviet or the Congress of Peoples' Deputies in order to confirm these decisions or legalize them in any way.

I must say that the president is making preparations for lots of things—measures and steps. Naturally after receiving, in particular, the support of the people for the economic reforms, I am quite convinced and I know that he is prepared for very decisive and effective steps so that the economic reforms should now proceed further. [end recording]

Further Filatov Comment

MK2804110893 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Apr 93 p 1

[Vera Kuznetsova report: "On Referendum Consequences"]

[Text] Commenting yesterday for the benefit of journalists on the preliminary referendum results, Sergey Filatov, head of the Russian Federation president's staff, said that the statistics received by the presidential services are virtually identical to the official statistics.

Filatov noted that the assessment the people came up with at the referendum had legal, political, and personnel consequences. First and foremost this applies to Boris Yeltsin's promise to do everything possible to have a new Constitution adopted. While everybody had expected a negative answer to the second question, it turned out to be positive—meaning that the reform, Filatov said, has been approved. The question then is, what is one to think of those who were removed from the government, of Gaydar for one. As for the vice president, no one can eliminate this post until a new Constitution has been adopted, Filatov said. Regarding the Supreme Soviet's tactics, the chief of staff remarked: "Should the Supreme Soviet leaders carry on their business in the same bellicose manner, the question of their departure may be raised." Filatov believes that early elections of deputies should be held, and the presidential team is starting preparations for them in order to organize an election campaign for democratic bloc candidates.

In the meantime, representatives of deputies gathered in the office of Nikolay Ryabov, Supreme Soviet deputy chairman, to discuss their own draft Constitution. Since this will be a long affair, the Congress is expected to convene as late as June.

Further on Shakhray News Conference on Referendum

LD2704153693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Report by correspondent Sergey Suntsov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Suntsov] In accordance with the law, the results of the referendum have supreme juridical force and must be implememented, Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray noted at a news conference today. This means, first and foremost, that all state bodies and the Supreme Soviet should either suspend or abolish all earlier decisions which restrict economic reforms. The facts of the referendum mean the following:

[Begin recording] [Shakhray] The present composition of the deputy corps has no right to take the following three actions: It has no right to dismiss the president of the Russian Federation, because people showed confidence in him and his policy; it has no right to dissolve itself or the existing government of the Russian Federation by getting the government to resign; or to adopt the new Constitution. [end recording]

[Suntsov] Sergey Shakhray noted that no extreme steps will be taken. There are grounds for cooperation on the basis of decisions on Constitutional reform, pre-term parliamentary elections, and the development of a Federative state. Sergey Shakhray and Professor Sergey Alekseyev dwelled on the main provisions of the new

Constitution. This is the first draft of a democratic constitution, it was noted at the news conference. According to the draft, the Russian Federation will develop as a presidential republic with strong juridical and executive power and a bicameral parliament. The new draft, Sergey Alekseyev said, is a document of national accord, and strong, stable, but democratic power. The draft constitution will be submitted to the head of the republics on 29 April, after which it will be published in full.

Parliament May Ignore Results

LD2804092493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0908 GMT 28 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyampolskiy]

[Text] Moscow April 28 TASS—The latest parliamentary decision to suspend a presidential decree shows that legislators "did not realize in full the preliminary results of the referendum", according to Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray.

On Tuesday [27 April] the parliament suspended Boris Yeltsin's decree which reinstated in office the president of Mordovia (a republic within Russia) after the post of the president was abolished by the local parliament.

"If things go on like that, it will be possible to say that the legislative authority ignores the results of the referendum", Shakhray told a press conference on Wednesday.

He expressed hope that parliament will look for compromises.

Speaking on the presidential draft of a new constitution, Shakhray said that he is an optimist and hopes that the new main law may be adopted already this year.

Presidential Council To Discuss Referendum Results 28 Apr

LD2804082593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0745 GMT 28 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow April 28 TASS—The Russian Presidential Council is to hold a session in the Kremlin in the afternoon today. No agenda has been announced, but it is expected to discuss the results of the referendum held on April 25.

President Boris Yeltsin is expected to address the session in which a political assessment of the nationwide voting results will be given.

It has not been ruled out that members of the Presidential Council - a consultative body, which works out proposals for internal and foreign policy strategy, will also discuss further action plan of the president, proceeding from the fact that a majority of voters has reaffirmed its trust in Boris Yeltsin and his policy of reforms.

Hard-Line Lawmakers Agree to Partial Early Elections

LD2704162093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1551 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondents]

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—Russian hard-line lawmakers believe only those deputies may be reelected as a result of the nationwide referendum whose constituencies voted against the Congress of People's Deputies by a majority of the electorate.

Ivan Rybkin and other members of the "Russian Unity" parliamentary group told a press conference on Tuesday [27 April] that as Moscow, St. Petersburg and several other regions voted for early parliamentary elections by a majority of the electorate they should reelect their deputies in parliament. All other legislators should preserve their mandate.

Lawmakers Mikhail Astafyev and Gennadiy Sayenko claimed that President Boris Yeltsin succeeded to enjoy popular support at the referendum because the Russian society is hit by corruption.

The conservative legislators also said that the Congress of People's Deputies reflects the balance of forces in society. They did not elaborate.

The congress has nearly impeached Yeltsin in March, while a strong majority of Russians supported the president in April.

Support Elections With 'Reservations'

LD2704212593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2053 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—The April 25 referendum showed the Congress of People's Deputies adequately reflects the arrangement of forces in society, leaders of the Russian Unity bloc of parliamentary factions told a news conference at the Russian House of Soviets here today.

As for early parliamentary elections, they said a proposal of head of the Russian Supreme Soviet Committee on Human Rights Sergey Kovalyev on early elections of deputies should be supported but with some reservations. Since the majority of referendum participants in Moscow, St. Petersburg and some other regions voted for the early elections, only their deputies should be elected ahead of time.

Democrats Fear Parliament's Interpretation of Referendum

MK2704092693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Apr 93 p 1

["I.Sh."-signed report: "Deputies Against Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] People's Deputies Sergey Yushenkov, Sergey Kovalev, Lev Ponamarev, Boris Zolotukhin, and Mikhail Molostvov (of the Radical Democrats faction) yesterday held a press conference summing up the referendum results, saying they were worried by the attempts by a majority of deputies and Supreme Soviet leaders to ignore the referendum results and declare it as having no legal force, whereas a preliminary voting count points to an unquestionable victory for the president and democracy. Radical Democrats are worried, for example, about Ruslan Khasbulatov's wish to restructure the Supreme Soviet, that is to say, to merge the committees for law and order, legislation, defense and security, and human rights, "into one well-working committee," as well as to reorganize the Committee for the Mass Media. According to Sergey Kovalev, the deputies are also trying to interpret the referendum results in their favor (they cite, for example, the following figures: 11 to 12 percent of the voters are for the president and 88 percent are against). The Radical Democrats faction deputies intend, accordingly, to urge the president to oppose actively the Supreme Soviet's attempts to ignore the real outcome of the referendum, and to pursue more vigorously his socioeconomic policy, first and foremost to adopt a Constitution and election law .

Constitutional Commission Aide Assesses Referendum

PM2704152593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 93 p 1

[Interview with Viktor Sheynis, deputy executive secretary of the Constitutional Commission, by Mariya Starozhitskaya under "Referendum" rubric: "Maintaining Its Dignity, Russia Has Cast Its Votes;" place and date not given]

[Text] [Sheynis] I think that the referendum ended as was to have been expected: It gave a definite advantage to the president's side. Although we do not have the final results, it is already obvious that the president has won. However, the win is not as crushing as Yeltsin's supporters would have liked.

Therefore the main question remains: What will happen after the referendum? Will the sides find accord? In my view, this is simply essential.

The fact that the referendum has shown that the forces of the radical opposition—the National Salvation Front above all—have clearly been exaggerated also works toward this.

For me the results on the second question were a pleasant surprise: The voters, despite all the speculation, were able to grasp the situation and gave their approval to the socioeconomic course of the president and the government.

At the same time, I fear that some of the president's supporters will interpret the results of the referendum as a signal for a certain license.

I would like to warn against hasty steps, against the escapades of which the president is guilty. The battle should, in my view, be continued in a civilized manner.

Democratic Organizations, Cossacks on Yeltsin Victory

LD2704220693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2056 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—The preliminary returns from the national poll are evidence of the victory by the Russian president and the policy of reforms launched in 1991, stresses a joint statement adopted by the Public Committee of Russia's Democratic Organisations and the Union of Russian Cossacks' Armies.

The public committee that brought together around 89 political parties, public organisations and trade unions supporting Boris Yeltsin in the run-up to the referendum can, judging by everything, become the basis for founding a presidential party.

At a press conference held in the building of the Moscow City Council today, committee members informed journalists about the tentative outcome of the vote tallied in 86 regions.

Judging by the nature of speeches by the Peasant Party's Chairman Yuriy Chernichenko, Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms Executive Committee Head Aleksandr Kisilev and Democratic Russia movement leader Vladimir Bokser, democratic parties intend to approach the Russian president with the demand that "market transformations in society be carried out more intensively."

Speakers at the press conference emphasised that the success of reforms and stability in society hinge entirely on the settlement of the political and constitutional crisis. People's Party of Russia Co-Chairman Telman Gdlyan believes that the crisis can be resolved by convening a constitutional assembly whose goal will be to adopt a new constitution, the laws on elections, on parties and to set the date for early "bottom-up" elections.

Democrats think that the Russian president's second step should be personnel changes in the government.

Presidential Council Aide Finds Results 'Unexpected'

PM2704162593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 27 Apr 93 p 1

[Comment by Georgiy Satarov, member of Presidential Council and director of Center for Applied Political Research: "Within Corps of Deputies Center Moves Toward Boris Yeltsin"]

[Text] Assessing the referendum's initial results, they are for me fairly unexpected, even going by the most provisional of figures. If the results for the first two questions were more emphatic than expected, then for the fourth one on early elections of people's deputies they were less emphatic than expected, even when you recall the results of public opinion polls.

Thus, the situation which has developed will, of course, influence the tactics of both opposing sides in a certain manner. The president has fairly strong support, but on the other hand the voters did not show sufficient enthusiasm for holding early elections of people's deputies.

With the forces ranged in this manner, I think that the best possible tactic for the president is to attempt to extricate us from the political crisis in partnership with the voters, relying on the support he has been given. These results will without doubt influence both the alignment of forces between the opposing sides and the alignment of forces within the corps of deputies. I believe there will be a certain shift by the center toward Boris Yeltsin, in confirmation of the referendum's results.

Nevertheless, these very results should push the president toward putting to Congress concrete proposals for extricating us from the crisis.

In these circumstances the government's role becomes more important. The struggle surrounding it to all intents and purposes revolves around two proposals. The first is—if you can call it this—to create a government of national confidence; that is, what the opposition to the president is planning.

The second is to have a team of professionals. It seems to me that the first proposal is altogether artificial. Why? Because forming a government of national confidence presupposes its normal multiparty status and a normal mechanism for representing particular interests and coordinating these interests. Unfortunately, we do not as yet have these.

For this very reason, and taking into consideration the present fairly complicated transitional period—a period of rebuilding the economy—it is, of course, a team of professionals which should be at work. Chernomyrdin has such a team, and it is possible to work with such a team.

Commentary Ponders Referendum, Criticizes Yeltsin

PM2704135593 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Apr 93 p 1

[Vladimir Isakov commentary under "Parliamentary Diary" rubric: "Democracy's April Rampage"]

[Text] As expected, the victory fanfares began to sound somewhat before the official results of the referendum ballot were announced. The official results were still not ready when this issue was due to go to press. But the unofficial results are as follows: 105.5 million people were entered on the electoral register for the referendum, of whom 65.4 million voted, which is 62 percent. As the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Press Service reports, "the turnout of Russians to participate in the ballot dwindled significantly by comparison with the turnout indicator for participation in the Russian presidential elections, falling by 12 percent." At midday Moscow time the counting of the ballot results had ended in 38 out of 90 electoral districts. In most of them, over half of those who voted confirmed their confidence in the Russian president. The referendum took place in all regions of the Russian Federation except for Tatarstan, where just 22 percent of voters went to the polling stations, and Chechnya, where the ballot was not held.

So it can be concluded that, despite the forecasts and predictions, and despite the harsh realities of economic life and the logic of common sense, Russians have expressed confidence in President B.N. Yelstin and his economic policy by a majority of votes cast by those who participated in the ballot.

Let us try to understand the nature of this phenomenon. There is no need to go to the depths of the "enigmatic Russian soul" to find an answer, as the solution lies significantly nearer. Remember, for instance, B.N. Yeltsin's television appeal to the people made on the eve of the referendum. With the hand of an experienced manipulator he touches the most sensitive spots of the social conscience. The threat of civil war frightens people—Yeltsin promises a **peaceful** way out of the crisis of power, a **peaceful** breakthrough to the future. Is this realistic in a society where elementary legal and moral norms are ignored, and where the stratification of personal wealth [imushchestvennoye rassloyeniye] is progressing rapidly? Don't ask questions—believe!

The blame for the collapse of the economy and for the catastrophic impoverishment of citizens lies with the previous leadership. Of course, the lily-white garments of the "reforms" remain unstained! At the same time, it is instilled in people that a way out has already been found, that the reforms are already starting to bear fruit.

The theme of combating crime was played masterfully. Cause and effect changed places completely: It was not the president through his libertarian actions who created the perfect conditions for the criminal structures but, on

the contrary, it is a lack of power which is preventing him from combating bribery and bureaucratic license!

The theme of the red-brown peril figured in the appeal unobtrusively, surreptitiously. Citizens were urged not to fear sacrifice for the sake of the cause of freedom and their children's future.... In short, he gave us the entire meaningless package [dzhentlmenskiy nabor] so well known from previous speeches by the president. Is it possible, being of sound mind and stable memory, to believe all this? It seems that it is. People shaken out of their usual way of life and dreaming of the search for a way out clutch at illusions and promises as at the proverbial straw.

Appealing to citizens on the eve of the referendum, B.N. Yeltsin promised "to act according to the principle of constitutionality, referring to the will of the people." Are there many scholars in the country capable of understanding that from the president's lips "constitutionality" means not compliance with the Constitution and the laws but quite the opposite? Or that, referring to a "constitutionality" known to him alone, B.N. Yeltsin intends to do away with the existing Constitution once and for all?

So what will there be instead? Instead there will be his, Yeltsin's Constitution. It has already been prepared, and it has been conveyed in vague outline on television and radio and the votes cast in favor of the president at the referendum will be seen as the people's willingness to adopt this new Constitution. The Constitutional Court ruled that the first and second questions are not constitutional in character. Naive people! The judges evidently did not even imagine that a Constitution could be approved just like that—without publication, without discussion, and via a simple but unconstitutional majority of votes. Democracy in rampage mode....

Several more reasons for the paradoxical result of the ballot at the referendum can be revealed. Namely, the lengthy ideological "infusions" spanning many months, and the discrediting of parliament which created for the population the stereotype of an impotent and useless power. And the skillfully played national card ("the Chechen or the Russian?"). And betrayal of the people by a part of the intelligentsia. And the disunity of an opposition which has failed to put forward a generally recognized national leader and to agree a plan of action. And brainwashing—Goebbels-esque in scale—based on what is to all intents and purposes monopoly access to the mass media. And the investment of many billions in resources by semicriminal and criminal business which perceived a threat to its authority and influence. And finally, the West's "selfless aid," gently nudging Russia toward chaos and destruction.

Thus, by bypassing the deputies and laying aside the Constitution, B.N. Yeltsin has extorted a credit of confidence directly from the people. What next? It has to be suggested that the first act for the purposes of reinforcing the "hard-won victory" will be the eradication of the system of representative organs of power—the ideological base for this breakup was outlined in the president's very same referendum-eve appeal. It is not required that tanks again be brought to the White House because there is an equally effective means—moral and political terror. All that is needed is a slight realignment of the ideological machine which gathered pace during preparations for the referendum. Deputies are not made of iron—they will run some.

Efforts will subsequently be made to create a "new constitutionality." To all appearances, a deadline for adopting the new Constitution has been set—12 June. But this is where things will backfire. For as yet there is no solution to the main problem—the inconsistencies between federal organs and organs of power in the localities have still to be settled. I am not sure, for instance, that B.N. Yeltsin, inspired by victory, will agree to include the Federation Treaty in the new Constitution—he is no longer capable of carrying it out in full. On the other hand, it is unlikely that the Federation's subjects will approve the removal of parliament—a counterbalance to the tyrannical actions of the executive. So, at best, the new Constitution is merely going to temporarily cover the cracks which have started to run in all directions across the facade, but it is unlikely to strengthen and save the wavering edifice beneath the tricolor of the "Russian Federation—Russia."

But the main thing is that Yeltsin and his team, including foreign advisers and consultants, are in no state to achieve an economic breakthrough in the near future. They always were, and remain, a destructive team. It can be predicted that in the wake of the referendum the processes of demise will progress at an even faster, accelerated pace. Meanwhile, huge advances have been issued. And there is no longer anybody else to blame. Demands for payment will be submitted without delay—and then what? Another political campaign?

The people has the kind of government it deserves. In this sense, the Russians deserved their Congress of People's Deputies and their president. It is just a pity that yet again this truth will have to be discovered on the ruins of the constitutional order....

Economic Issues

Rutskoy's Contribution to Agriculture Questioned

PM2804081593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Apr 93 First Edition p 1

[Valeriy Konovalov report: "Russian Vice President No Longer in Charge of the Countryside"]

[Text] Under his edict dated 23 April, Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin has relieved Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy of all duties requiring his involvement in agricultural problems.

The presidential edict of a year ago under which Rutskoy was entrusted with keeping an eye on land reform, and also the section of the decree on land reform relating to the powers of the vice president and the Federal Center for Agrarian Reforms which was set up under his jurisdiction, are now deemed to have lapsed. This decision is motivated by the fact that Vice Premier for Agriculture Aleksandr Zaveryukha has now emerged in the government; he is now coordinating the work of all the agrarian departments and the progress of the agricultural reforms.

This explanation, however, clearly has a diplomatic aspect to it. You can view the vice president's year-long stewardship of agriculture however you like, but you cannot say that he has coordinated agrarian administration. There has never been such confusion and lack of coordination in agricultural administrative structures even in our country, which has witnessed all sorts in the way of experimentation in the countryside. Basically, Rutskoy attempted to set up an alternative Ministry of Agriculture and pursue an agrarian policy fundamentally different from that espoused by the government and the agriculture minister. This constantly resulted in chaos and zigzagging in reforms at local level.

However, neither Rutskoy nor his Federal Center has managed to achieve anything substantive over the past year. The vice president himself confirmed this, citing his actual job as that of organizing "a headquarters for the harvest work" last summer. Rutskoy's contribution to agrarian science, while impressive in terms of scale, has actually turned out to be extremely dubious in terms of substance.

There are two sides to every coin, however. The Federal Center, now minus a chief, is still the sort of fully-formed structure capable of usefully concentrating on regional and investment programs once it has been transferred to somebody else's jurisdiction.

The next step in settling agricultural administration may now finally be taken. After all, granting the Committee for the Processing Industry ministry status last year seriously complicated mutual relations between the peasants and their partners and entrenched the processing enterprises monopoly position.

Central Bank's Gerashchenko Interviewed

PM2704091793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Apr 93 First Edition p 5

[Interview with Viktor Gerashchenko, chairman of the Central Bank of Russia, by Vitaliy Kovalenko; date and place of interview not stated: "Viktor Gerashchenko: Reform Is Not a Horse, It Will Not Save Us Itself"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The Central Bank of Russia has long and firmly been registered in the opposition camp. All last year its independent policy gave rise to numerous attacks from the government. The dispute between them reached such a pitch that it spilled over onto the pages of the press. Our newspaper has given both sides the opportunity to voice their opinion (ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA for 2 and 7 April), but it is too early to put an end to the debate. First of all because an attempt is now being made to impart to the economic dispute a clearly expressed political and ideological coloring: The reformists are in favor of progress and of Russia's return to a civilized channel, while those who disagree with the policy which is being pursued are reactionaries dragging the country into the past. What in reality is the position of the Central Bank chairman and what makes him disagree with the reforms which are now being implemented? I asked Viktor Gerashchenko to focus his attention on this:

[Gerashchenko] There is one main reason: I disagree categorically that Russia today can manage without state management of the economy. The Gaydar government gambled on freely floating prices. According to their design that should have led the economy to correct cost proportions and on this basis switched to market mechanisms which would have placed enterprises of different forms of ownership in the same conditions and freed the state of the need to interfere in economic activity.

[Kovalenko] As in the United States?

[Gerashchenko] Rather as in Europe. We hardly need to take the United States as a model, it is a country with its own painfully specific features. We must not forget that it is 200 years old and has been settled mainly by rebels, adventurists, and misfits, by what one may call dissidents who did not get on in their native civilizations and were drawn to the undeveloped continent, where they could do, think up, and try whatever they liked. Hence the American nature's characteristic features—extreme individualism and the readiness to begin everything from scratch and to do everything as it should be not as it could be. We have acquired unique Russian experience when an absolutely market-based mechanism of free prices has produced an absolutely nonmarket reaction from enterprises: Instead of seeking additional sales markets they are curtailing production and are not reducing but increasing costs, including them in the price without a twinge of conscience.

I am prepared to agree that it is not only the reformers but also those who knew our economy well who have only now completely understood how profoundly it was monopolized. For this reason alone no free floating is yet acceptable to us. But I cannot agree with the price which we paid for this knowledge: people's impoverishment, the colossal decline in production, and the destruction of essentially all mechanisms of management. After all, we have even lost the elementary ability to count.

When the government promises that prices will increase by a factor of two to three and is completely wrong, then, forgive me, that is the clearest proof of its lack of professionalism. After all the main thing is that a year later the whole thing is being repeated again. Now Mr Fedorov is demanding that the Central Bank impose

quarterly quotas on the increase in the credit mass. We agreed—to avoid wasting time for nothing, but I am sure that as early as May he will ask for compensation. However much we want to, we will not fit into that 30 percent. And we will not fit into it because we are not in control of the situation in the country and we do not want to spend time counting even minimal requirements.

[Kovalenko] It is always easier to criticize than to do it yourself.

[Gerashchenko] But we are doing it. For instance, the railroad workers came to us. For money, of course. They need to bring in sleepers and rails over a long distance in order to change the worn out ones for the summer, but there is no finance. We gave them credit although we know that we are running into conflicts again. I can cite tens and hundreds of examples of this kind. So that there are hardly grounds for accusing the Central Bank of passiveness. Or where would all the rebukes come from?

That we are not the ones who set the rules of the game is another matter and all that is left is to get back what we have lost and try to prevent destruction where that is still possible. But what the rules of the game should be—that is indeed a question.

[Kovalenko] Ultimately it comes down to only two possible options: planned rules or market rules.

[Gerashchenko] Well yes, either forward or back. The trouble is that each time we reduce the economy to politics. Both Poland and Hungary are moving toward the market yet their reforms are absolutely dissimilar. I do not even mention China. Each country must inevitably find its own national formula for transition, only then is success possible.

[Kovalenko] But where are we to take this national formula?

[Gerashchenko] From nowhere but our own history. All our problems are there, and their solution is there too.

Probably everyone knows of the bomb which forced the country, which had just emerged from the war, to throw all its efforts into its own nuclear program, but for some reason people forget that following that there was one more very powerful impetus from outside. Before we shot down Powers, for several years U.S. reconnaissance aircraft had been calmly flying over our country and not one of our fighters could reach them. Again we had to muster all our forces and create an air defense system. As a result we acquired a monster-economy which, as the specialists say, produced so many weapons that we could fight for 13 years without worrying about anything.

That is one more very powerful factor which for years deformed our economy—military confrontation. But there was another—the party system.

For some reason it is the custom in our country to present matters as though until very recently there were no reformers in Russia, but I well remember Kosgyin's reform, which, incidentally, was very progressive for those days. The results did appear, but why did it misfire? Because as soon as the oblast committee secretaries saw that the reform was taking directors out of their subordination they immediately killed it. Later the same thing happened several times in the seventies, the eighties, and even in 1990.

Today both these factors are, fortunately, in the past, but the legacy has remained. First, the militarized industry with an underdeveloped consumer sector. And second the structure of internal prices, which were artificially distorted in order to ensure the balance of a distorted economy. That is why our internal prices do not reflect the true cost of goods, services, or labor. And since we lack the main thing—a means of measurement and value—that means that we cannot approach the market. And therefore liberalization in our country changes the size of prices but their structure not at all.

These are the two main problems which have been generated not by the Polish or American economy but by our own economy. It was these problems which generated the crisis in the country and consequently the reforms should be directed toward their solution. But now let us look at whether we have advanced by even a step in this direction over the past 15 months.

The first year was declared the year of liberalization, the second the year of privatization, while putting off further and further the structural restructuring and establishment of the correct cost proportions. As a result we are destroying even what has been created, and have definitively lost controllability which, in my view, was the main reason for the insane pace of inflation.

[Kovalenko] It is primarily the Central Bank which is blamed for inflation. And not so much even for providing credits to state enterprises as for its policy with regard to nearby foreign parts.

[Gerashchenko] Clarity is also needed here. Yes, by the end of last year we had formed a positive balance of 1.2 trillion rubles under our offset accounts with the former republics, but according to the republics' figures the Russian enterprises have also remained indebted to them to the tune of about 800 billion. So that the figures which are usually used at not entirely simple.

In addition the delivery of ready money which in my view should in general be viewed specially went into debt. Although we now produce entirely Russian bank notes essentially they are still the bank notes of the former Union, designed to serve all cash turnover. And here too unique realities have taken shape: The Baltic republics were traditionally the region where money was taken and Kazakhstan, conversely, was where money was paid, and it was spent by people traveling on leave to visit their relations in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus. I want to stress that this was not simply the movement of money but the way of life of millions of people, which had taken shape over decades. Now it is planned to break

all this and to be tough in closing the borders. Technically that is possible, but I cannot recommend such a decision for our people.

Of course, the borders could be moved up to Ryazan, but would that then mean that all our predecessors—the czars and emperors—were, forgive me, simpletons? Yet they expanded Russia, found outlets to the seas, set up cordons sanitaires which, incidentally, had to be paid for. So that so far I see no logic.

There is a second, also very serious reason. Today, in Ukraine, there is a powerful metallurgical industry but no metallurgical machinery building, and all equipment used to be delivered from Russia. If we retreat from that market, tomorrow others will be there, but it looks as though we intend to stagnate for ages. And what will happen later: Will we break into a market that has been taken?

Yes, the problem of credit and financial relations with the CIS countries does exist. Yes, it is a source of inflation and it must be closed as soon as possible. But I am categorically opposed to short-term, often purely politically motivated decisions which would harm the country's long-term national interests.

[Kovalenko] Viktor Vladimirovich, forgive me, but like everyone you declare: We need this, we need that. But how? How to struggle against inflation? After all, until we reduce its pace—here I agree entirely with Fedorov—we cannot speak seriously of any simple reproduction.

[Gerashchenko] But who is preventing the government from struggling against it? Let us speak frankly: One powerful source of inflation is our foreign economic activity. So was it the Central Bank which spent so long delaying the law on currency regulation, using the president to impose a veto on it? Who has so twisted the question of currency inspection? Who issues licenses to the Avtoeksport for trading in... timber?

We must introduce elementary order. And when you are told that our firms are hiding currency abroad because of inflation—do not believe them, that is a purely theoretical speculation. The reason lies elsewhere: The commodities are not theirs. They have sold oil, timber, or metal which are national assets. According to all world laws the middleman has the right to his own two or three percent commission. Yet they keep a substantial part of the profit. That is the whole point. We must put an end to this practice.

[Kovalenko] Introducing bans, restoring the foreign trade monopoly—would that be the result?

[Gerashchenko] Well, in my view we should trade in raw material resources only through state organizations and under the strictest control. And then why are we shying away from administrative mechanisms? After all, the wide-scale plundering of the country is under way. Any state, the most civilized state, would turn on all restrictive mechanisms without thinking in this situation. When they were emerging from the postwar crisis, and our situation, incidentally, is very similar, the European countries made exceptionally extensive use of the apparatus of state coercion. We prefer to go half-hungry and pride ourselves in our pseudo-liberty.

[Kovalenko] But then let us truly talk this through. If our supermonopolized economy can be controlled only by extensively switching on administrative methods then should we talk of restoring the party committees? Without them the administrative edict system is unworkable.

[Gerashchenko] But any system needs it—the administrative edict and market systems equally, but not in such a simplified way as you are interpreting it.

Not a single country has yet managed to emerge from crisis without mustering its population's will. To switch from one set of rails to another one needs what is called political will. And in the past the party committees coped with that task. Frequently making out that black was white and vice versa, they nonetheless created in the country a situation in which the majority of people felt they were personally involved in the problems which the state was resolving. Today neither the party committees themselves nor the methods by which they operated are possible. But the task remains.

Take inflation. In Israel—which, incidentally, is a market-based country—its pace was once comparable with ours. It was provoked by the war, the constant influx of immigrants, the need to develop every new territories. And no injections by Zionist organizations or loans from the United States helped. Yet they put an end to inflation in less than a year. How? Three sides met: The trade unions, executive power, and the entrepreneurs—and concluded a compromise agreement which restricted each of the sides in some respect but which provided a common benefit.

In any case we must do something similar. We must agree and introduce correctly balanced prices, primarily for exchange commodities—coal, oil, and grain—and all the other prices fluctuate depending on them. Then we must freeze prices and wages for three to six months in order in this time to settle all the main relationships and determine the cost of labor. After which the situation in the country will start to stabilize.

Is this feasible? Technically, yes, and we can even reach agreement. But for agreements to be fulfilled people must voluntarily undertake not to tighten their belts, that is not the main thing, but to act together. But for that they must be interested in reforms—they must see what state tasks they are resolving and how that relates to their own personal interest. I stress: They must not hear, not read, but actually see in their daily lives. That is not the case today. Apart from a narrow stratum of merchants, the reform has not given anyone anything. The reformers have deprived it of its social base, discredited the market in people's eyes, and thus complicated the path toward real reforms, which our economy needs.

That, if you like, is my main complaint against them, the main reason for differences.

Chernomyrdin Addresses Oil Producers' Congress

LD2704162593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1542 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Anatoliy Aladinskiy and Pavel Gordeyev]

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin told the Congress of Oil Producers today the government has a clear program to curtail negative processes in the Russian economy. The program includes easy-term crediting of the priority industrial branches, well-considered structural policy and privatization.

It is not the matter of tough economic policy, but of skillful regulation of the system of property, primarily the state one. At the same time, the government has so far failed to create such a management system, stressed the official.

Chernomyrdin noted a current tendency of enterprises' production curtailment when passing over to another form of property, but said he hopes for future production boom.

The main obstacle in production development today is the imperfection of the credit and financial system. Last year alone enterprises received six trillion roubles worth of credits, which, however, brought no feasible results. In Chernomyrdin's words, in future the government plans to issue credits only for specific programs to develop the priority branches, including the fuel and energy complex.

In the opinion of the prime minister, the situation there is alarming. A total of 39 new deposits were developed in Russia in 1988, as against nine last year. Oil extraction has reduced so much, Russia will have to import oil if the situation perseveres.

Still, the inflation processes were curbed down in the first quarter of 1993. The prime minister stressed only work can help Russia overcome the crisis.

Oil Industry Problems Aired

LD2704194393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Video report by correspondent Ivan Pankov, including recording of interview with Vladimir Medvedev, president of Union of Oil Industry Men—from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Unless urgent measures are taken, the collapse of the oil complex will lead to an energy crisis next year not only in Russia but also in the community. This pessimistic opinion was heard at the Union of Oil Industry Men whose second congress opened in Moscow today.

[Pankov] [passage omitted] The first congress prepared a package of specific measures and sent it to the authorities, and some of them are already being implemented by decision of the government. However, a fantastic paradox is in evidence which is worthy of the Guinness Book of Records. Yuriy Shafranik, minister of the power sector, Vladimir Ispravnikov, chairman of the Supreme Economic Council, and Vladimir Medvedev, president of the Union of Oil Industry Men, spoke about this today. Today oil is flowing to the consumers, even though in smaller quantities, but no return flow of rubles is to be seen. [passage omitted] However, oil and petrol are going up in price. People are paying for them.

[Pankov addressing Vladimir Medvedev] I do not understand: Where is this money, where is this strata, where are the funds paid for this oil located?

[Medvedev] It is precisely this question that we wish to put to the Ministry of Finances, the Ministry of the Economy and the Russian Central Bank. Where is this money?

[Pankov] Tomorrow the congress will continue analyzing the situation.

Entrepreneur Urges Yeltsin To Adopt Radical Reform

LD2704172893 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0425 GMT 27 Apr 93

[From the "Businessman's Morning" program]

[Text] In all developed countries, the stock market is the most sensitive barometer of political change. This, however, is the first time that we have encountered such brisk reactions to political statements. The publication of the referendum results is bound to lead to a further series of reactions. What lies ahead for Russia's entrepreneurs? This is the question we put to Konstantin Borovoy, co-chairman of the Party of Economic Freedom:

[Begin Borovoy recording] The president asked us whether we supported him. Everybody said yes. Even though it is proving very difficult to implement all these reforms, we are all clever enough now to realize that the president's scope for reform was restricted by the Supreme Soviet and by our Communists, by our old system. Now his hands are free. So, he must start making up for lost time. It is absurd and stupid to wait for the Congress to allow him to carry out economic and political transformations. They will never ever give him the go-ahead for this.

The chairman of the Supreme Soviet has already said that even if the president were to receive 100 percent of the registered vote, this would not mean that the Constitution should be revoked, that any principles should be abandoned. He must start a constitutional process urgently. He must announce a program of economic transformations and start implementing it. This must be

a proper, radical program, not the one which the fuel and energy industry and other industrial sectors of the old-style economy are lobbying for.

Unquestionably, he must put a stop to this disgraceful business with the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies. The people have made their views quite plain. He will never win greater support. Furthermore, if he is not radical enough now, if he fails to keep his promises, we, the citizens, will all become hostages of the Communists. We know from our country's history that they are merciless. [end recording]

Military & Space Issues

Sergeyev Stresses Significance of Strategic Missile Forces

LD2704174493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1703 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Shevtsov]

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—"Strategic missile forces remain the main guarantor of Russian stability and safety," Strategic Missile Forces' Commander-in-Chief Colonel-General Igor Sergeyev told a meeting with strategic missile forces' school graduates and cadets-to-be today.

The forces' significance will grow alongside the weakening of general purpose forces, he said.

Despite the reduction of missile forces under the SALT-1 [Strategic Arms Limitation Talks] and START-2 [Strategic Arms Reduction Talks] Treaties, the need for high-class officers will increase. The missile forces face an uneasy task to eliminate nuclear arms, in accordance with the SALT-1 and START-2. By September 1, 1993, preparations of three bases for nuclear arms dismantling must be completed.

Speaking of ratification of the START-2 Treaty, Sergeyev told correspondents difficulties may arise from the special stand of Ukraine, which has not so far ratified the SALT-1 Treaty. In his words, Ukraine had a considerable scientific and technical potential in nuclear arms production. Two out of the three Soviet plants to produce the latest generation missiles were located on its territory. Ukraine also produced all systems of combat control and missile guidance.

The ratification of the START-2 treaty is necessary as Russia, due to financial difficulties, would be unable to produce missile parts, which were previously made outside its territory, and would have to unilaterally reduce strategic offensive armaments.

Cited on Nuclear Issues

LD2704205993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Report by correspondent S. Sokolova, including recording of remark by Strategic Rocket Troops Commander Igor Sergeyev in Moscow on 27 April—from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Preparations for the three bases designated for the elimination of nuclear weapons in Russia are due to be completed on 1 September 1993. This was stated by Igor Sergeyev, commander of the Strategic Rocket Troops, at today's meeting with graduates and future students of higher educational establishments of the rocket troops. And although strategic and nuclear missiles will be cut down, according to Igor Sergeyev, the need for this type of troops and high-class specialists will not decline, but, on the contrary, it will increase.

To a question as to how the destiny of missiles in the Ukraine is being tackled, the commander noted that in connection with the Ukraine's special position difficulties may arise in solving the question of the ratification of the START II treaty, because the recent closed hearings on nuclear missiles on Ukrainian territory did not yield any results.

According to the commander, the Ukraine possesses a serious scientific-technical potential in the sphere of the production of nuclear weapons. Apart from two factories producing latest- generation missiles ...

[Sergeyev, in progress] ... an entire tactical control system and an entire sighting system have been produced in the Ukraine.

General Reports Interior Troops Need Reinforcements

LD2704142293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1355 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—"Interior troops are doing their service at the limit of their physical capabilities, particularly as concerns guarding important state facilities and correctional labour colonies", General Anatoliy Glazko, assistant chief of staff of the Russian Interior Forces, told ITAR-TASS on Tuesday [27 April].

"Realistically assessing the situation, we enlarged the list of specialities for which people are hired on contract. Nearly eleven thousand volunteers now serve in the Army on contract, while some 26 thousand are needed", he said.

Still the backbone of the forces is formed on the basis of call-up, Glazko said. People doing regular military service serve in units discharging tasks in regions of the state of emergency, in units guarding particularly important facilities, including nuclear, and in units stationed

in hard-of-access, sparcely populated regions where personal cannot be attracted on contract.

As many as 32 thousand conscripts will reinforce Russian Interior Troops in the Spring. 37 thousand people will at the same time be discharged, the general said.

Glazko said the government should assess the tasks of some or other agency and allocate funds for them. There is a limit to the strain one can endure.

Glazko expressed dissatisfaction that the parliament by its decisions makes more and more categories of citizens free of the obligation to do the military service. "Deputies should show principledness and take care for manning the Army and the Interior Forces", he said.

Defense Enterprise Promotion League Holds Conference

PM2704130193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Apr 93 p 2

[Article by Yuriy Mamchur: "Structural Restructing of Industry Essential; But With Consideration for the Interests of Defense Complex Enterprises"]

[Text] Pooling efforts in the business of economic reform, conversion, and the structural restructuring of the industry, preserving the defense complex' production and scientific and technical potential and its skilled cadres and thus promoting Russia's resurrection—that was the appeal of the participants in the second conference of the league for the promotion of defense enterprises.

That is a vital necessity. The decline in the volumes of production over 1991-1992 has reached approximately 80 percent of the GNP and this process is continuing. Many industrial enterprises, especially defense enterprises, have found themselves insolvent. Under these conditions, the league's president, Aleksey Shulunov, general director of the Science and Production Association Named for P.S. Pleshakov, noted, a considered and coordinated national industrial policy and the structural restructuring of industry are essential. The avenues of the public organization's activity were formulated. Promoting the adoption of Russia's military doctrine and the approval of arms and state conversion programs complying with it was named as the priority task. Next come the defense of defense enterprises' right to the independent export of military equipment and arms.

The league intends to continue to seek to improve the financial position of defense enterprises through the formation of leasehold, tax, and credit policy and the adoption of attractive economic conditions for the state order and advocates the effective use of funds only for approved regional and federal conversion programs.

The Russian defense complex provides unique opportunities for forming diversified organizations which develop of their own accord under market conditions and are similar to the world-famous industrial and financial groups of Japan, Germany, and South Korea, which largely ensure the rapid economic surge in those countries. To use this experience, the league's vice president, Givi Dzhandzhgava, leader of the Ramenskoye instrument building design bureau, noted in his speech, a number of similar groups should be created which would be joined by enterprises of various sectors, including the defense industry. All these groups should work for the final market product. The differences in their models would promote the birth of healthy competition and given a sufficient number of these independent groups there would be a substantial reduction in the state management of industry as the word is understood today.

The participants in the conference recommended that the league's president galvanize work to create regional offices in St. Petersburg, Penza, Voronezh, Chelyabinsk, and other cities. In addition, using the status of an independent public organization, it must continue business cooperation and collaboration with the Federation of Commodity Producers of Russia, the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia, the Moscow chamber of trade and industry, and the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, exerting the necessary influence on the formation of their positions on key questions of economic reform with a consideration for the interests of defense complex enterprises.

At the same time the opinion was voiced that today it is no longer enough for the league to limit itself to taking part only in norm creation, the emphasis should be on specific organizational work.

Converted Missiles Earn Profits as Satellite Launchers

PM2704100193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 26 Apr 93

[By Aleksandr Lutskoy and Vladimir Avdeyev; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Lutskoy] The use of combat missile hardware on a commercial basis was the theme of a recent press conference in Moscow. The launch from the Plesetsk space center of a booster rocket belonging to the Start-1 mobile space complex was a successful example of the pooling of efforts between representatives of the defense industry and Russian entrepreneurial structures. The project was accomplished thanks to the IVK Joint-Stock Company. For two years it has effectively supported the work of around 10,000 staff in the military-industrial complex, which is now operating on starvation rations. Now for IVK a range of unique new technologies has been developed making it possible to refit combat ballistic missiles and use them on a commercial basis for the launch of satellites. The missiles were due to be scrapped under the START-I treaty—which, incidentally, would have cost the state a packet—but instead will now bring in a profit because there is a shortage of booster rockets

in the world space market. So it is no surprise that the launch of Start-1 aroused interest among Western satellite manufacturers. They are ready to invest substantial sums to get their equipment carried into orbit.

Parameters for Cosmos-2243 Satellite Launch Given

LD2804080793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0627 GMT 28 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Apr—Another Earth satellite—"Cosmos- 2243"—was launched on 27 April by a "Soyuz" rocket carrier from the Baykonur cosmodrome. The Flight Control Center reported today that the satellite carries scientific apparatus for continuing space research. The satellite has been placed in an orbit with the following parameters:

—initial period of revolution: 89 minutes
—apogee: 274.4 km;
—perigee: 204.4 km;
—orbital inclination: 70.4 degrees.

Besides scientific apparatus, the satellite carries a radio system for the precise measurement of orbital elements and a radiotelemetry system for transmitting to Earth data about the work of the instruments and scientific apparatus. The apparatus is working normally. The coordinating and computing center is processing the incoming information.

Supreme Soviet

Parliament Suspends Yeltsin Decree on Mordovia President

LD2704145593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1442 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—The Russian Parliament decided on Tuesday [27 April] to suspend the decree of Boris Yeltsin which cancels a resolution of the parliament of Mordovia, a republic within Russia, to abolish the post of the president and reinstates the republican president in power.

The Russian Parliament suspended the decree until the Constitutional Court adopts a ruling on the problem.

Ambartsumov Fears Intervention in Yugoslavia May Trigger War

LD2704112493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1035 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Nikishov]

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—An international armed intervention in the Yugoslavian conflict is fraught with the danger of a European war, according to Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, chairman of the parliamentary committee on international affairs and foreign economic relations, who has recently visited former Yugoslavia.

UN sanctions in former Yugoslavia are "unilateral and counterproductive", Ambartsumov told parliament on Tuesday [27 April], adding that "we received first-hand information".

The parliamentary delegation which he headed arrived to a conclusion "that all warring sides are responsible for the conflict".

Today it is necessary to secure, at least, a ceasefire and especially the bombing of cities, according to lawmakers who visited many combat areas, met various political, public and state figures, as well as Russian peacekeepers.

"The Russian parliament showed itself as a constructive force in solving the Yugoslavian conflict", Ambartsumov said.

Parliament Decides To Set Up TV Channel

LD2704170493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1552 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 27 April—The Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation today adopted a decision on expenditure for setting up and running the Russian Television-Parliament television and radio broadcasting program. The decision made it incumbent on the government to make a special-purpose allocation in the 1993 republican budget of 443.4 million rubles and $1.93 million [as received] to organize and run the work of this program.

During the discussion of the problem of financing the new Russian television and radio channel, it was noted that it should start work in two months' time. Its studios are actually being set up in the Russian House of Soviets. Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, called the television channel "a serious instrument for informing the population about the activity of parliament," and stressed that it would not have propagandist functions.

Democratic Party Leader Travkin Resigns From Parliament

LD2804131293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1243 GMT 28 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow April 28 TASS—Nikolay Travkin, the leader of the Democratic Party, decided to step down as member of the Russian legislature after analysing the

results of the referendum in Moscow and St. Petersburg where most of residents denied confidence to legislators.

In a press release on Wednesday [28 April] Travkin called on all lawmakers whose constituencies voted for early parliamentary elections by a majority of the electorate to follow suit.

Otherwise, "permanent psychological split can trigger serious psychic disturbances", he said.

Travkin also proposed that those legislators who are employed in the presidential staff and other bodies of executive authority also step down.

He believes in this case the Congress of People's Deputies will lack quorum and early elections will become inevitable in autumn.

Gromov Presents Military Treaty With Belarus

LD2704220593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1948 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Speech by Deputy Defense Minister Boris Vsevolodovich Gromov at Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 27 April; from the "At the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Session" program—recorded]

[Text] [Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov] Boris Vsevolodovich Gromov, Russian deputy defense minister, will speak on the ratification of the treaty between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus on coordination of activity in the military sphere. Please.

[Gromov] Esteemed presidium, esteemed deputies. The treaty between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Belarus on the coordination of activity in the military sphere is presented for your attention. It was signed in Moscow on 22 July 1992 and has already been ratified by the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belarus, on 4 February.

First of all, I would like to note that with the Commonwealth states setting up their own armed forces, an absolutely new military-political situation arises on the territory of the former USSR, a situation in which the coordination of military activity between the armed forces of sovereign states both on a multilateral and on a bilateral basis has begun to be of particular importance. Taking this into account, Russia is at the present time conducting an energetic policy of creating a qualitatively new treaty and legal basis, in conformity with international norms and law, regulating military links with these countries.

The treaty between Russia and Belarus which you have before you should be regarded as part of the specific implementation of this policy. In elaborating the treaty, both sides worked to create a harmonious document which would take maximum account of the interests of the military security of both states, the particular features and construction of their own armed forces in the transitional period, the links which have grown up in the sphere of military activity and, of course, the sovereignty of the Republic of Belarus.

Here, the Russian side proceeded on the basis of the necessity and importance of ensuring its own national security by means of maintaining and further developing military cooperation with Belarus, which has close military-political, economic, and demographic links with Russia.

I would like to draw the attention of the esteemed deputies to the fundamental, basic provisions of this document which will determine the essence of Russia-Belarus links in the military sphere. It is evident that the document that has been presented for ratification will enable many of the problems facing the defense ministries of the two sides to be resolved on an operational basis, and for their cooperation to be coordinated more effectively.

In conclusion, I would like to stress that this document, this treaty, which has been concluded between Russia and Belarus on coordination of activity in the military sphere bears witness to the high level of military-political trust and mutual understanding between the two states and the level of their readiness for military cooperation which has been frequently confirmed at the very highest levels.

I would ask you to take everything that I have said above as a recommendation from the Defense Ministry to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation to ratify the present treaty. How quickly and how fully the mechanism of military cooperation between Russia and Belarus will go into operation directly depends on this treaty.

[Khasbulatov] I put it to the vote. I would ask you to agree to it. [video shows shows voting figures: 178 for; 3 against; no abstentions] The treaty has been ratified.

Media Chairman's Remarks Prompt News Conference

LD2704193893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By unidentified correspondent; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] A news conference was held today as a result of yesterday's statement by [Vladimir Lisin] the chairman of the Supreme Soviet Committee for the Mass Media. Vladimir Lisin asked that the agenda of the sitting should include a question of reorganizing his own committee with regard to the thrust of its activities and its composition. Naturally, this statement was perceived, not without reason, as foreshadowing an imminent and inevitable purge of the committee's members in connection with their work prior to the referendum.

For their part, the committee's members rejected an attempt to link the referendum results with the committee's fate. They accused Vladimir Lisin of ignoring the committee's sessions and of splitting its ranks. The point is that the provisional commission set up at the Ninth Congress [of People's Deputies] to examine the situation at the state television and radio broadcasting company has, in essence, taken over all the committee's functions and begun to issue documents behind its back.

The chairman of the Mass Media Committee did not reject the accusations and confined himself merely to saying:

[Begin Lisin recording] In the first place, it is necessary to bring the committee's activities into line with the law and the regulations which we have, so that the process of creating new laws is in the center of our activities. [end recording]

Incomprehensible, but well put. As for the questions of compatibility between these calls to make laws and the intention to introduce observer councils, the esteemed member of parliament referred here to an old Yeltsin proposal, as he put it—and it is necessary to implement the president's decrees.

Parliament Discusses Space Science, Industry

LD2704195693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1659 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—The Russian parliament considered measures to stabilise the situation in space science and industry today. The Supreme Soviet committed the government to envisage appropriations for Russia's space programme as a separate item with the quarterly index-linking in the Russian Federation draft budget for the new fiscal year.

The draft of the federal space programme of Russia on space systems, complexes and means of the scientific, national economic and defence purpose should be submitted to legislature before June 1, 1993.

Under the parliament's resolution, measures should be taken to increase the social security of workers at cosmodromes and specialists at enterprises and organisations ensuring the test and operation of space technology and also to preserve the established scientific and production links in the space activity field within the CIS.

Khasbulatov Complaints Seen Aimed at 'Control' of Media

PM2804102793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Apr 93 First Edition p 2

[Article by Valeriy Vyzhutovich: "R. Khasbulatov Blames Press for Referendum Result and Prepares Attack on It"]

[Text] On 26 April, at a Supreme Soviet Presidium session, Ruslan Khasbulatov urged people not to get carried away with the referendum results, saying they were entirely due to the effect of "Poltoranin's Goebbels-style propaganda." According to the speaker, the considerable preponderance of votes on the side of the president and his policy was due to "the pernicious role of the elctronic media."

Leaving aside "Poltoranin's Goebbels-style propaganda" as an entirely traditional expression from Khasbulatov's political vocabulary, one which has scarcely enriched its highly original eloquence, the speaker's assessment of the press is otherwise fundamentally new and unexpected. Never before have journalists exercised such a significant and major influence on society, according to the head of parliament. Never before has Khasbulatov placed the authority of the press, television, and radio so high. He used to say that their "attacks" in "no way demean the authority" of the head of the legislative authority, but "merely result in people's ceasing to read newspapers and journals." Now the speaker, judging by his statement, has probably arrived at what is for him the sad conclusion that the 58 percent of voters who expressed their confidence in the president have not stopped reading the "harmful" newspapers and journals, even out of respect for Ruslan Imranovich personally.

But there are at least two facts that militate against accepting the parliament head's high rating of the role of the democratic press.

First, the print and electronic "mind controllers" that would have to share the laurels and the responsibility for the voting results would then, out of fairness, be IZVESTIYA and PRAVDA, MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, and the television programs "Itogi" and "Parliamentary Hour." While attributing to the democratic mass news media a sinister, mystical force, we should not play down the influence of communist and patriotic propaganda on minds, because it labored away in April with unprecedented enthusiasm, although less productively.

Second, you have to have a poor opinion of the people, whom Khasbulatov keeps on publicly invoking, to interpret the will of millions merely as the result of the hypnotic influence of the press, no matter what shade or hue it might represent.

Actually, there is nothing new here: In accordance with the tradition that has been established since the days of perestroyka, the authority now represented by the head of the Russian parliament invariably puts all its failures and defeats down to the "intrigues" of journalists who have gotten out of hand. "Having suffered a clear defeat in the referendum," a statement put out by the Russian Federal Information Center says, "the supporters of primitive communism have started to look for culprits. We would like to say to the majority of deputies that your problem lies not in the press and not in the 'juggling' you are seeking with your magnifying glass.

Your problem is yourselves or, to be more accurate, your anti-Russian position. It is perfectly natural that the people on whose behalf you have uttered such inspired oratory should say 'no' to the body of deputies."

Be that as it may, Khasbulatov has already issued a directive on halting the "information terror." Supreme Soviet committees and commissions have been given urgent instructions to prepare documents so that the activities of the media can been examined at a parliamentary sitting in the very near future. Deputy Lisin displayed exemplary self-sacrifice when he proposed the immediate disbandment of the committee on the media of which he is chairman.

The Russian legislators' future steps are not hard to predict: a short-term "refinement" of the law on the media, the disbandment of the committee on the media, which in its present composition is not subject to the will of the head of parliament and the majority of deputies, the appointment of their own people to leading posts in state press organs and in television, a financial boost for obedient publications from the state budget, that is, from taxpayers' money...

The forthcoming investigation of the press, which has been accused for the first time by the deputies of exerting an excessive influence on Russian society, is not just another attempt to introduce political censorship. It is also a demonstration of typically Bolshevik notions about the people, who allegedly do not have their own beliefs and are led entirely by propaganda, of which the head of parliament is determined to take control once and for all.

Regional Affairs

Results of Referendum in Regions Viewed

St. Petersburg Welcomes Results

LD2704170193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By correspondent Vladimir Batalov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] It looks as though the high-flying political passions of the days in the run-up to the referendum have now reached the Mariinskiy Palace [seat of the St. Petersburg Soviet]. The opening of the city soviet meeting was preceded by this minor scuffle. [video shows heated verbal exchange between two deputies in the lobby] One of the deputies tried to throw a leader of the Communist Worker's Party out of the hall. Fortunately, it did not end in fisticuffs; the passions soon subsided.

Deputies also showed unanimity in their assessment of the preliminary results of the referendum, which had exceeded the boldest expectations. Contrary to the agenda, they were immediately read by soviet Chairman Aleksandr Belyayev. According to the provisional figures, 72 percent of the voters expressed confidence in the president. Over two-thirds of St. Petersburg residents who took part in the referendum believe that it is necessary to hold early elections for deputies. Even the illegal handing out of Rutskoy's philippic in one constituency did not help.

The mayor of St. Petersburg began his address to the session by congratulating his fellow citizens on the victory. He said that in the course of the referendum the people rejected the Communists' claim to power. The session then heard Anatoliy Sobchak's report on the activity of the administration in managing the municipal economy and in fulfilling the budget for the previous year.

Bashkortostan Favors Independence

MK2804111493 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 28 Apr 93 p 9

[Gulchachak Khannanova report published in "Referendum in Bashkortostan" column: "Bashkortostan Decides To Be More Independent"]

[Text] Yesterday Vladimir Kosenko, chairman of Bashkortostan's central electoral commission, said that according to preliminary results, 74.9 percent of the voters who went to the polls in the republic gave positive answers to the fifth, additional question about economic independence for Bashkortostan and the need to build its relations with Russia on a treaty basis. Therefore, citing the will of the majority of its citizens, Bashkortostan—following Chechnya and Tatarstan—can now insist on the strengthening of the confederative principles of Russia's state structure. Observers point out that the outcome of the voting in Bashkortostan may lead to new complications in relations between the center and the autonomies.

According to preliminary results, Bashkortostan citizens have displayed rather high political activity: 70.6 percent of the republic's population took part in the referendum. Out of that number, 39.6 voted for confidence in the president and 35.9 percent supported his social policy. The idea of early presidential elections was favored by 42.3 percent, and early elections of people's deputies by 37.8 percent of all registered voters. Observers, however, link the activity of Bashkortostan's residents with the fact that an additional question—about the republic's economic independence and the building of relations with Russia on treaty-based principles—was included in the referendum. Some 74.9 percent of the participating voters said "yes" to this question. Thus, the republic's leadership has received popular support in its struggle for sovereignty and the consolidation of the confederative principles of Russia's state structure.

The main demands of the Bashkortostan Supreme Soviet are as follows: the right to dispose of mineral resources independently; to engage in foreign economic activity; to define the principles of taxation; and to create legislative

and judicial systems. At the same time, republic Supreme Soviet Speaker Murtaza Rakhimov stated that "at present it is absurd to talk about Bashkortostan's leaving the federation." According to him, so far only economic sovereignty is involved.

Far East Trends Summarized

OW2704222593 Vladivostok Radiostantsiya Tikhiy Okean Maritime Network in Russian 0715 GMT 27 Apr 93

[From the "Pacific Ocean" Program]

[Text] Here is the latest information on the results of the referendum. Data received by the Central Election Commission on the outcome of the All-Russia referendum from the 13 districts of the Russian Federation confirms that the majority of voters expressed trust in the president. The highest indicator, more than 74 percent, was in the Magadan Oblast. More than half of the voters said yes to the first question in Kamchatka, Koryak, Maritime, and Jewish autonomous districts. Less than half of the voters in the Amur district answered this question in the affirmative.

The president's and government's social and political policy was approved in eight of the 13 districts. The highest number, 65 percent, of its supporters were in Magadan Oblast. In Kamchatka more than 61 percent expressed support and more than 57 percent in the Maritime district. Amur Oblast registered the least amount of support—approximately 40 percent.

The third question on the early election of the president failed to garner half the votes from the thousands of people in any of the districts. Only in Koryak Autonomous Okrug did more than half of the voters express support for the early reelection of the deputies. Amur and Jewish autonomous districts recorded the least amount of support for the early reelection of deputies—less than 40 percent.

More than half of Sakhalin and Kuril voters supported President Boris Yeltsin and his reforms. Preliminary data confirms that on the first and second questions of the referendum, the islanders voted in the affirmative—60.8 and 51.5 percent, respectively. Nearly 27 percent of the total number of Sakhalin Oblast voters considered early reelection for the president necessary, and almost 40 percent of Sakhalin and Kuril voters expressed the need for the reelection of the peoples deputies. Boris Yelstin received absolute support in the Kuril Islands—one of the most complicated political, social, and economic regions of Russia.

The inhabitants of the major Far Eastern shipbuilding city of Boshoy Kamen supported the Russian president and his social and economic policy. On the first and second question of the referendum, 66 and 57 percent of the voters respectively answered in the affirmative. Some 23 percent voted for the reelection of the president, and 35 percent voted for the early reelection of deputies.

Over 60% Vote in Irkutsk

LD2804081893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0100 GMT 28 Apr 93

[Text] Over 1 million inhabitants took part in the referendum in Irkutsk Oblast. This is slightly over 60 percent of the total number of voters. According to preliminary data the votes were distributed as follows: in favor of Boris Yeltsin and his policy, 61 and 54 percent respectively: in favor of early elections of the president and the deputies, 47 and 73 percent respectively.

Khabarovsk Kray Results Reported

LD2804082293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0500 GMT 28 Apr 93

[Text] The referendum results for Khabarovsk Kray were confirmed at a sitting of the constituency commission today. Altogether 58 percent of the electorate took part in the voting. Seventy percent of the turn-out replied yes to the question of confidence in the president.

Udmurtia Commission Releases Results

LD2804082193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0700 GMT 28 Apr 93

[Text] The Central Electoral Commission of Udmurtia today published the final results of the referendum. Approximately 56 percent of the electorate came out decisively in support of the president of Russia. Almost 49 percent of voters endorsed the course of economic reforms, and over 40 percent voted in favor of early elections of deputies.

Results in Murmansk Reported

LD2804081093

[Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 0421 GMT on 28 April carries a three-minute report by correspondent Valeriy Anuchin in Murmansk, who reports that almost 500,000 people took part in the referendum in Murmansk Oblast. Anuchin says that 72 percent of the voters voted in support of the president; 64 percent approved the present social and economic policy.

Yeltsin's Approval Rating Varies

PM2804103593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Apr 93 First Edition p 2

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA roundup: "Boris Yeltsin Still Respected, But 42 Regions Do Not Support His Policy"]

[Text] **Question: Do you trust the president?**

In 10 republics—Adyge, Bashkortostan, Altay, Dagestan, Ingushetia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Karachayevo-Cherkessia, Mari El, Mordovia, and Chuvashia—Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin failed to win a vote of confidence from the majority of the voters.

In Tatarstan the referendum was not held.

Beyond the Urals only voters in Altay Kray, Amur and Chita Oblasts, and the Aga Buryat and Ust-Orda Buryat Autonomous Okrugs failed to deliver a vote of confidence in the president.

In the European part of Russia voters in Belgorod, Bryansk, Kursk, Lipetsk, Orel, Penza, Pskov, Ryazan, Saratov, Smolensk, Tambov, and Ulyanov Oblasts failed to deliver a vote of confidence in the president.

In Dagestan 14.28 percent returned a vote of confidence in the president, while in Ingushetia and Karachayevo-Cherkessia the figures were 2.4 percent and 25.9 percent respectively.

But there were territories where the president received the utmost support. The vote was more than 70 percent [for the president] in Khabarovsk Kray, Kamchatka, Magadan, Murmansk, and Chelyabinsk Oblasts, and in Moscow and St. Petersburg.

People from the president's home town voted as follows—out of 3,357,000 voters 2,199,000 turned out; of these 1,858,000 (84.5 percent) voted for the president.

On the whole, slightly more than 58 percent—or 39.7 million voters—delivered a vote of confidence in the president. A vote of no-confidence was returned by 39.8 percent, or 27.3 million voters. A total of 39 million people did not vote.

Question: Do you approve the president's policy?

In addition to the republics, kray, and oblasts which expressed no-confidence in the president, there were also regions which failed to support his socioeconomic policy. These were the republics of Buryatia and Udmurtia, Krasnodar and Stavropol Krays, Volgograd, Voronezh, Kaluga, Kemerovo, Kostroma, Kurgan, Novosibirsk, Omsk, Orenburg, and Tver Oblasts.

But the results of the vote on approving the president's socioeconomic policy showed that there are regions of Russia where voters live very well.

Above all, these include Sverdlovsk Oblast (76.4 percent). Judging by the vote, living standards in the Khanty-Mansiysk and Yamalo-Nenetsk Autonomous Okrugs are somewhat lower (74.4 and 74.1 percent respectively). They are followed by Kalmykia, Yakutia, Khabarovsk Kray, and Arkhangelsk, Kamchatka, Murmansk, Perm, Chelyabinsk, and Yaroslavl Oblasts (60 percent or more).

In Russia's capitals people voted as follows—70 percent of Muscovites approved the president's policy, while in St. Petersburg optimism was 4.5 percent lower. Even in unemployment-stricken Ivanovo the current course was supported by 58.3 percent of those who took part in the referendum.

But as a whole the socioeconomic policy of the president and government was approved by around 36 million people, or 52.9 percent (of those who voted, of course).

Reports From Regions Published

PM2804084193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Apr 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Roundup of reports under general heading: "Referendum Has Taken Place: Neither Winners Nor Losers. Our Correspondents Report Preliminary Voting Results"]

[Excerpts] Blagoveshchensk [Nikolay Belyy]—On the Amur the referendum had passed into history as early as 1600 hours, Moscow time, 25 April, and the specific results of the expression of the will of Amur Oblast's people were known before noon 26 April. They appreciably exceeded the forecasts of specialists who were predicting on the eve of the plebiscite that, at best, one inhabitant of the Far East in every three would support the Russian president and the socioeconomic policy which he is implementing. For it was here, two years ago, that Yeltsin barely gained one-third of his supporters' votes during the presidential election.

This time 43 percent of those who voted voiced confidence in the president, while 55 percent came out against him. The votes on the second question broke down in roughly the same ratio, and a majority voted for an early reelection of the deputies. Amur Oblast, together with Yakutia, Sakhalin, and other geographical neighbors, proved to be among the most active parts of the Far East: More than 60 percent of those with the right to vote reported to the referendum polling places.

They did not manage without slipups, including almost incredible ones which probably have no analogues in mother Russia. Thus, an entire group of Blagoveshchensk City Soviet deputies and the leader of an oblast soviet commission—V. Khakhin, chief editor of the oblast newspaper—were barred from the oblast soviet's wire room while the information coming in from the provinces was being processed. A militia sergeant standing by the doors to the room merely spread his hands: "It is forbidden." A telephone call to a general, the chief of the Oblast Internal Affairs Administration, was no help. Not even senior militia officers who arrived on the scene were able to open the doors to the "secret" room. In the afternoon of 25 April, when the referendum was gathering momentum, people who declined to name themselves twice telephoned the ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA correspondent's center and reported that unidentified individuals were trying to buy...ballots from people going to the referendum, chiefly from old people—for 10,000 rubles each. The competent organs were unable to either confirm or deny this superconfidential information. [passage omitted]

Perm [Yuriy Shatalov]—According to preliminary data, more than half of those who voted expressed confidence in President B. Yeltsin. At the same time fewer than half the voters advocated early elections of the body of deputies. At present, however, this is only the opinion of observers and members of the district commission.

A mass of violations and misunderstandings was observed in the holding of the referendum in the oblast center. Thus, in the No. 217 and No. 212 Electoral Precincts of Motovilikhinskiy Rayon observers from public organizations discovered secret ballot boxes sealed by...an ordinary coin. In the same rayon they "forgot" to include almost all the residents of Kholmogorskaya Street on the secret ballot lists and to invite them to the referendum. At one polling place commission members handed out new sets of ballots to individual citizens to replace spoiled ones—which is categorically prohibited. In some places overt and covert agitation was continuing on polling day, and some voters arrived at polling places only to find themselves missing from the lists.

Ulan-Ude [Gennadiy Gypylov]—After midday the ballots no longer lay like a fan on the tables. According to preliminary data, 63.2 percent participated in the referendum. Voting passed off calmly. "We did not even sell all the beer," an attendant at one of the agitation centers said in surprise.

Precisely 51.8 percent of those who participated expressed confidence in the president, and 50.9 percent do not approve of the economic reform being implemented by the executive. The figures for early reelections of the president and the body of deputies were 33.4 and 38.3 percent respectively.

Rostov [Vadim Ogurtsov]—Against expectations, Rostov Oblast voted actively. Of the 3.226 million voters, 2.085 million participated in the referendum, or 64.5 percent. With the exception of mines, where only 49.4 percent of the electorate came to the polling places, the referendum was regarded as valid in all other territorial precincts.

Reports will come in from rayon commissions somewhat later, but the preliminary voting results in Rostov-na-Donu were already known Sunday night. Of the 769,000 Rostov residents, 467,000 voted, or 61.25 percent. Precisely 72.09 percent of those who voted confirmed their confidence in the president, 66.77 percent supported his economic policy, 39.86 percent advocated reelection of the president, and 76.16 percent of those who participated in the referendum advocated reelections of Russian people's deputies.

St. Petersburg [Yuriy Kukanov]—Precisely 1,812 polling places started work in St. Petersburg at 0700 hours Sunday. The voters' lists included the names of 3.75 million residents of St. Petersburg. Everything was also ready at my polling place, which was accommodated in Primorskiy Rayon's School No. 8. My name figured on the lists, and the reverse of the ballots bore the stamp and signatures of two members of the electoral commission. Commission Chairman O.F. Makhortov reported that by 1100 hours 172 of the 1,270 voters included on the lists had voted.

For the first time the possibility of using their constitutional right was granted to the pariahs of Soviet society—persons of no fixed abode. Precinct No. 29 in Kuybyshevskiy Rayon was organized for 10,576 such people. Here voting took place under the supervision of representatives of various parties and public organizations so as to rule out possible attempts to manipulate the votes of this section of city dwellers.

At 0230 hours on 26 April the newspaper's correspondent's center received the first information on the preliminary voting results. More than 60 percent of the electorate participated in the referendum. St. Petersburg, which the reforms have put down into 76th place among Russian cities in terms of the population's living standard, came out in support of the president and his policy of transformations. Approximately 70 percent of the electorate voted for confidence in Yeltsin, and more than half of those who voted approved of the president's socioeconomic policy.

The referendum results still have to be finalized, but it is already clear that the idea of early elections of president and parliament did not receive the approval of St. Petersburg voters, although the difference in the number of votes is quite eloquent: Less than 35 percent of those who participated in the referendum advocated the president's reelection.

A local poll was also conducted in St. Petersburg. Approximately 70 percent advocated enhancing the status of the city on the Neva and convening a Constitutional Assembly to adopt the country's Fundamental Law.

Chelyabinsk [Anatoliy Usoltsev]—Chelyabinsk residents were made more optimistic by the report that on the eve of the referendum the oblast inner soviet had repealed the earlier adopted decision to suspend check auctions. What epithets have been bestowed on the people's deputies of the oblast soviet just recently! Chelyabinsk Oblast has even been called a "battlefield against privatization." Russian Vice Premier Anatoliy Chubays urgently flew to the Southern Urals. But when specialists of the State Committee for the Management of State Property investigated the reasons for the suspension of check auctions, they were forced to acknowledge the oblast soviet's arguments.

I do not believe that these events had any effect on the electoral activeness of Chelyabinsk residents—people intended to go to the referendum in good time. According to the information of the district electoral commission, more than 50 percent of the citizens included on the lists in Chelyabinsk Oblast had already participated by 1600 hours Sunday.

Yesterday morning Vadim Kozlov, chairman of the district electoral commission, told journalists that the referendum can be considered valid. The votes are being counted. This work is complicated by the fact that simultaneously with the plebiscite a second vote was taking place in the oblast to elect the administration head, as well as a Russian people's deputy and oblast soviet deputies to replace ones who had left.

The course of the elections was monitored by representatives of various political parties and public movements and even by U.S. citizens who have come to Chelyabinsk on an unofficial mission. No serious violations were detected.

Kazan [Dmitriy Mikhaylin]—Mintimer Shaymiyev did not go to the polling place. His example was followed by the majority of the population of Tatarstan.

But it was explained to your correspondent at the Republic of Tatarstan Central Commission on Holding the Referendum that, since this was an all-Russian measure, the voting results for Tatarstan will be taken into account in the overall vote count. But the results are such that, of the total number of 2.6 million citizens with the right to vote, only 22.8 percent went to the ballot boxes—mainly supporters of President Yeltsin. Precisely 66 percent of those who went answered "yes" to the first question, and 61.4 percent to the second. The results for the last two questions were reckoned up based on the total electorate, and so here the figures are considerably lower: They were answered in the affirmative by 10 and 15.8 percent respectively. From the aforesaid figures it is hardly possible to draw any political conclusions with regard to Tatarstan's being part of Russia. But it is perfectly obvious that the majority of the republic's citizens did not wish to realize their constitutional status as citizens of the Russian Federation. Let us remind you that under the Tatarstan Constitution citizens of the republic simultaneously possess federal citizenship as well.

There are several reasons why the referendum was thwarted in the republic. First, as distinct from the republic referendum 21 March last year on the status of Tatarstan, the republic's leadership did not once urge its citizens to come to the polling places. The voting process itself was organized not in the best manner. The author of these lines, for example, did not know until the last moment in which of the neighborhood schools he was to vote. Therefore by midday 25 April only 11 percent of those with the right to vote had done so, whereas 55 percent had done so 21 March last year. Second, extremely active work was done by the so-called "Staff To Organize Work Against Holding the Russian Referendum," set up jointly by nationalist parties and movements. Not only did the nationalists themselves not go to the referendum—which is natural—but they also did all they could to prevent citizens from expressing their will. At one of the precincts in Naberezhnyye Chelny, for example, a group of young people attempted to hinder the work of the electoral commission on the grounds that a neighboring state's referendum should not be held in Tatarstan.

To be fair, it should be pointed out that the prореferendum staff set up by several parties of a democratic and federalist orientation, as well as by deputies of the republic Supreme Soviet and Kazan City Soviet, pasted up just as many leaflets, and far better printed ones too.

The purpose of the referendum in Tatarstan, however, was somewhat different than in all other republics: The republic's inhabitants had, albeit even indirectly, to confirm the fact of Tatarstan's being a part of the Russian Federation. This did not happen.

Mordovia Calls Again for Repeal of Yeltsin Edict

PM2704155393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Apr 93 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Mordovia Does Not Agree With Yeltsin"]

[Text] N. Biryukov, chairman of the Mordovian SSR Supreme Soviet, has a sent a letter to Russsian Federation President B. Yeltsin in which he says: On 4 April 1993 the Mordovian Supreme Soviet informed the president of the abolition of the post of president of the Mordovian SSR. Immediately following this, B. Yeltsin signed Edict No. 430 of 8 April "On Ensuring the Unity of the System of Russian Federation Executive Power on the Territory of the Mordovian SSR." The edict has become a destabilizing factor in the sociopolitical life of the republic. The inhabitants of Mordovia are concerned that the center has adopted such an attitude toward the strictly internal affairs of the republic, especially as the Russian Government has absolutely no grounds for concern. The situation in Mordovia is very calm. The republic's population reacted favorably to the formation of the Council of Ministers-Government of the Mordovian SSR. It was formed in line with the Federation Treaty and the Mordovian SSR Constitution. At the present time effective measures aimed at stabilizing the economy and the organized performance of the spring field word are being taken. The necessary conditions have been created for the people to express their will at the all-Russian referendum. However, the appeal sent by the Mordovian SSR Supreme Soviet remains unanswered. Wherefore they ask President B. Yeltsin a second time to repeal Edict No. 430 of 8 April 1993. The Supreme Soviet reaffirms that in the Mordovian SSR the constitutional principle of the separation of powers and the provisions of the Federation Treaty will be consistently implemented, while the further implementation of the economic reforms will be ensured.

Deputy Prime Minister Yarov Visits Mordovia

LD2704213093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2054 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Papeta]

[Text] Saransk April 28 TASS—Russian Vice-Premier Yuriy Yarov visited Mordovia on Tuesday [27 April] to study the republican situation, which shaped up after the Mordovian Parliament decision to remove from power republican President Vasiliy Guslyannikov and form a parallel government.

Speaking at a meeting with members of both government cabinets, people's deputies, administration heads and heads of major enterprises and farms, the vice-premier noted the situation must be taken as a reality. However, there must be no lag in its solution.

The only possible way, in Yarov's opinion, is a decision of the Constitutional Court. Yarov warned both sides against unconsidered actions, which may lead to sharper confrontation.

Chechen 'United Congress' Set for 6 May

LD2704221693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1716 GMT 27 Apr 93

[by ITAR-TASS special correspondent Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Groznyy, 27 April—The date for the national congress of the Chechen people was set in Groznyy today. It will be held on 6 May. Khasa Tsobayev, a member of the executive committee of the United Congress of the Chechen People, reported this to the ITAR-TASS correspondent after a sitting of the congress executive committee.

Tsobayev stressed that the congress participants plan to discuss the political situation in general, solutions to the power crisis, and the reconciliation of the opposing sides. It may be recalled that this congress had been planned for 23 April but was postponed indefinitely because of the exacerbation of the political situation.

Chechens are placing great hope in this congress in Groznyy—where rallies by supporters and opponents of the Chechen Republic's first president Dzhokhar Dudayev continued today. They hope that peace will be restored in this republic in the North Caucasus.

Chechen Constitutional Court Appeals for Compromise

LD2804120793 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1100 GMT 28 Apr 93

[Text] Today, the Constitutional Court of the Chechen Republic has yet again appealed to all the nation's forces and to those people in power to comply with the requirements of the Constitution of the Chechen Republic and to halt the confrontation. The statement by the chairman of the Constitutional Court reads, in part: The Constitutional Court of the Chechen Republic has exhausted virtually all means and methods of bringing both the executive and legislative powers to their senses; however, each side must compromise.

Kalmyk President Bans Political Parties

LD2804091993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0000 GMT 28 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Apr—Kirsan Ilyumzhinov, recently elected first president of Kalmykia at the age of 30, will hold a news conference in Moscow today. After his election as head of executive power, he has decided to suspend the activities of all political parties in his republic "until the standard of living in Kalmykia is twice as high as in Russia."

It is worth noting that these measures are being introduced by someone who has long surpassed the average standard of living—he is a coproprietor of several firms and companies, and calls himself a billionaire.

Under another of Ilyumzhinov's decrees, all men in the republic will work six days a week. Meanwhile, the new president intends to transform the parliament into a professional body with 25 deputies.

ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Igor Shubin, who studied with Kirsan Ilyumzhinov at the international relations faculty of Moscow State Institute of International Relations, said that his former classmate is a "bright chap" and pointed out his determination in studying two European languages.

It seems that on 29 April the president of Kalmykia will take part in the scheduled meeting of the council of heads of republics within the Russian Federation, and this will be a kind of "political baptism" for him.

Vladikavkaz Talks View Situation in N. Ossetia, Ingushetia

LD2704131193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1218 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz April 27 TASS—A joint meeting of the North Ossetian Security Council, Military Council and leaders of the interim administration on the territory of North Ossetia and Ingushetia was held here today. It discussed ways to stabilise the situation in the region, which had sharply deteriorated over the past few days, as well as methods to ensure the safety of civilians in border areas.

According to information received from the interim administration's headquarters, the situation in the limited state of emergency zone remains very tense. A militia squad had to beat off an attack of five Ingushetian bandits last night on the outskirts of the Ossetian village of Khurikau. The raiders were captured. A tent camp of the Russian Interior Ministry's investigation team was fired upon in Nazran. Sappers discovered two

explosive devices in the villages of Dachnaya and Dongaron. They were planted next to a devastated school building and a dwelling house. Luckily, no tragedy had occurred.

The press service of the interim administration today disseminated a report, published in the republican newspaper "VESTNIK INGUSHETII" (THE INGUSHETIAN HERALD). It says in part that Ingush President Ruslan Aushev met veterans of the Afghan war in Nazran. He expressed the opinion that they should join the Ingushetian interior and security ministries to combat agents-provocateurs and black-marketeers, and to oversee the distribution of humanitarian aid.

ITAR-TASS has learned that the negotiations service and the Federal Migration Agency, had jointly compiled lists of refugees and displaced persons in the Ingush Republic. They will be discussed by the second meeting of the mixed commission in the town of Terek.

Early Election of Moscow Mayor Ruled Unlawful

LD2204181893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1647 GMT 22 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow April 22 TASS—The Supreme Court of Russia backed Mayor of Moscow Yuriy Luzhkov, a supporter of President Boris Yeltsin, in his struggle against the conservative Soviet of People's Deputies of the capital.

The Supreme Court confirmed an earlier ruling of the Moscow Court that the decison of the Moscow Soviet to hold an early election of the mayor is unlawful.

Moscow lawmakers appealed against the decision of the Moscow Court and planned to reelect the mayor on April 25 during a nationwide referendum.

But now the court ruling is final.

Economist Elected Governor in Krasnoyarsk Kray

PM2704153793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Apr 93 First Edition p 2

[Aleksey Tarasov report: "Governor of Krasnoyarsk Kray Elected"]

[Text] Krasnoyarsk—According to preliminary figures, Valeriy Zubov, a 40-year-old doctor of economic sciences, was elected governor of Krasnoyarsk Kray 25 April.

He had been acting head of the kray administration for three months. Prior to this he was head of the Economics Faculty at Krasnoyarsk University and deputy director of the Krasnoyarsk Commodity and Stock Exchange. He spent two years in the United States studying labor organization experience.

Zubov stated that the means of implementing reform should be determined in the regions within the framework of a single strategy for Russia. Advocating the continued decentralization of economic management and the creation of conditions for implementing regional restructuring, he believes that it is necessary to amend the practice of granting privileges to certain territories. All Federation components should be placed on an equal economic footing.

Correspondent Elected Bryansk Administration Head

LD2704211593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2049 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Belskiy]

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Lodkin has been elected head of the Bryansk regional administration.

The correspondent defeated 14 candidates to the post and began to fulfill his duties today.

Asked by ITAR-TASS on his election campaign program, Lodkin noted it was elaborated with participation of major region experts, including heads of local industrial and agricultural enterprises.

The program includes measures to support agricultural producers, relative stabilization of the industrial production, social protection of the most vulnerable population layers and anti-crime activities.

In contrast to programs of other 14 candidates, Lodkin tried to find additional sources to replenish the regional budget. In his words, there are 30 of them in the Bryansk region. He also plans to use off-budget funds. "We think there must be two of them: a fund to support agricultural producers and a fund for social protection of the population," noted Lodkin.

Asked about future relations of the Bryansk regional executive and representative power bodies, Lodkin expressed the assurance "all differences in relations of the two power branches will be eliminated in a few months".

As for the elimination of the Chernobyl accident aftermath, "which affected almost two thirds of the Bryansk region," the new administration head said their solution "will much depend on the solution of general Bryansk region problems". In his words, attention paid by the republican government to the Chernobyl-affected zone "sharply decreased" with the beginning of radical economic reforms in Russia. He said the inflation tells on the implementation of program to eliminate the Chernobyl accident aftermath.

International Affairs

Kostenko Comments on Nuclear Arms, Nonnuclear Status

MK2704110093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Apr 93 p 3

[Vladimir Skachko report under "Ukraine" rubric on briefing by Environment Minister Yuriy Kostenko "at the end of last week"; place not given; questions by unidentified correspondents: "Too Many Conflicts. Ukraine's Nonnuclear Status Still Problematical"; followed by unattributed report quoting from statement by 162 people's deputies demanding Ukraine be declared a nuclear state]

[Text] At the end of last week the deputies working group on questions associated with Ukraine's ratification of the START II Treaty and its acquisition of nonnuclear status held closed parliamentary hearings. The group, together with specialists, experts, and all interested deputies, considered the scientific and technical aspects of nuclear disarmament. This group is headed by Ukrainian Environment Minister Yuriy Kostenko, also a people's deputy, who on the same day briefed journalists on the parliamentary hearing's results. It was clear from what he said that the participants had not arrived at a united opinion and that additional hearings would be needed.

Here are some questions and Kostenko's replies to them at the briefing.

[Question] In your group's view, is Ukraine currently a state possessing nuclear weapons?

[Kostenko] This question has arisen repeatedly, and I have always quoted the wording of the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons. It says: "A state possessing nuclear weapons is a state that has produced and exploded nuclear weapons or another nuclear explosive device before 1 January 1967." It is the only definition that meets the varying norms of international law and gives a definition of who exactly is a nuclear state. Under this definition Ukraine is a nuclear state, because before 1 January 1967 it, as part of the USSR, de facto carried out a nuclear explosion. We are, furthermore, the former USSR's successor as regards all its property rights and legal obligations, and consequently we are also a nuclear state in this respect.

[Question] What kind of realistic prospect does Ukraine have of providing a scientific and technical basis for maintaining nuclear weapons? How many years would it take to establish a full maintenance cycle for Ukraine's nuclear potential and how much will this cost?

[Kostenko] According to the data presented, this requires a very large sum of money: over $40 billion. But the possibility of creating such a cycle in Ukraine has not yet been considered in discussion, because we did not have all the necessary information.

[Question] Was the question of building nuclear weapons in Ukraine and the upkeep of what already exists considered?

[Kostenko] Several options were considered: the upkeep of existing nuclear weapons, the construction of new ones, and Ukraine's acquisition of nonnuclear status. Bearing in mind Ukraine's scientific and technical and industrial potential, it does, of course, have the potential to build its own nuclear weapons. This is what specialists claim. But that is not the problem. From where do we get the resources? How is a maintenance system to be established? In short, there are very many military, political, scientific and technical, and ethical problems.

[Question] Did specialists consider a link with nuclear power engineering, for example, with respect to transforming fuel for warheads into fuel for stations? For Ukraine, what are the material consequences of destroying missile silos?

[Kostenko] The question of using nuclear weapons components for nuclear power engineering is being considered. We reached the conclusion that simply transforming highly enriched uranium into low-enriched uranium is technically inadvisable. It would be more advisable for Ukraine, which now faces the problem of establishing its own nuclear cycle, to retain some of the highly enriched uranium, because some other types of nuclear station reactors might be found in the future. As regards the destruction of launch silos and the transportation of toxic substances from Ukrainian territory, this is a very important problem for us. Specialists have suggested that we either build our own production facilities to utilize these substances, or preserve them for the needs of peaceful space exploration in the future. At the moment both require extraordinary expenditures.

[Question] Which ones specifically?

[Kostenko] According to specialists' data, if only warheads are destroyed, between $1 and $2 billion. If silos are destroyed, as the START I Treaty requires, up to $3 billion.

[Question] Has the question of Ukraine's constructing its own nuclear testing site in Ukraine been discussed?

[Kostenko] Specialists have stated that to have nuclear weapons one must also have one's own nuclear testing site: either it must be in one's own country, or a site on foreign territory must be used.

[Question] What is your comment on the statement by 162 deputies demanding that Ukraine be declared a nuclear state and that the appropriate Ukrainian Supreme Soviet decision be adopted to do this?

[Kostenko] My signature appears at the end of the statement. I have shared these views for a long time.

[Question] Could it happen that because of the adoption of a military doctrine the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet will proceed toward ratification of the START I Treaty, and

are discussions of military doctrine and of nuclear disarmament problems interrelated? When might the START I Treaty be ratified?

[Kostenko] These questions cannot, of course, be completely separated. Ratification of nuclear disarmament is on the agenda for parliamentary sessions but I cannot say whether ratification will take place. For example, our commission is preparing some comments on this question. It has not finalized them, and the hearings on the scientific and technical aspects of nuclear disarmament are evidence of how many problems we still have to solve and how much still has to be clarified. The commission has no general information that could be submitted to the Supreme Soviet. If the treaties are submitted for ratification without this information, the deputies' present questions will arise right in the debating chamber. They must be answered clearly. Failing that, parliament will not be able to ratify anything.

[Question] In what kind of state are the Ukrainian-Russian talks on nuclear disarmament?

[Kostenko] Many statements describing the progress of these talks have already been made on this subject in the press. The talks are not advancing because a fundamental question has not been solved—that of ownership. Russia is raising it as follows in the talks: without defining its rights of ownership to Ukrainian warheads, it is refusing to maintain these warheads. But if this question is raised more broadly, it will then be necessary to solve the question of the status of Russian troops on our territory, because the warheads can be maintained only by military units belonging to Russia. If the problem is solved like this, as Russia wants, political decisions by our Supreme Soviet are needed, while our parliament, as you know, has adopted a decision that everything on Ukrainian territory is Ukrainian property. A decision on Ukraine's neutrality and nonaligned status has also been adopted.

[Question] Does the commission have at its disposal data on Ukraine's possible losses should the world community impose economic sanctions against it if it does not ratify the nuclear disarmament treaties?

[Kostenko] Once again I want to stress that at the moment Ukraine has not violated a single international norm or a single international treaty, and at the moment such sanctions as are being implemented by the United Nations against Serbia and Montenegro cannot be imposed against Ukraine. These sanctions can operate only after our Supreme Soviet's ratification of the said treaties and in the event that they are not implemented or legal commitments of one kind or another that it has assumed are broken.

[Question] Can Ukraine prohibit the launching of missiles from its territory?

[Kostenko] Specialists say that it can.

[Question] How are the START I Treaty, the Lisbon Protocol, and the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons interrelated? Because some Ukrainian politicians are claiming that the START I Treaty's ratification will lead to the destruction of only 36 percent of nuclear missiles in Ukraine.

[Kostenko] Without ratification of the Lisbon Protocol, the START-1 Treaty will have nothing to do with Ukraine because this protocol alone legally registers Ukraine's participation in nuclear disarmament. Regarding the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which Ukraine is due to ratify as a nonnuclear state, it immediately comes into conflict with the Lisbon Protocol. Because when we ratify the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty as a nonnuclear state the nuclear weapons on Ukrainian territory are not ours, and consequently the START I Treaty has nothing to do with us. That is, in other words, there are very many legal conflicts over these questions. Consequently the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet must decide in what context and in what capacity Ukraine is to ratify these documents, so that there are no conflicts and so that everything is aimed at eliminating nuclear weapons. [Kostenko ends]

The above-mentioned statement by 162 Ukrainian people's deputies on the republic's nuclear status says, in particular: "Following Ukraine's proclamation of independence and the USSR's disintegration, Ukraine, as one of the successor states to the former USSR, became a nuclear state. This is confirmed in Article 12 of the Agreement on the Commonwealth of Independent States, ratified by the parliaments of all CIS member states; by the Lisbon Protocol (Article 1), in which Belarus, Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation, and the United States recognized Ukraine as an equal party to the SALT I Treaty; and by the Vienna Convention on the Succession of States Regarding Treaties, which was ratified by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet.

"Unfortunately, there are currently many conjectures and excessive emotions concerning the question of Ukraine's nuclear status and its rights of ownership over the nuclear weapons located on its territory. This manifests itself in the positions and official statements of certain states' representatives.

"In this context we believe that the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet must reaffirm its right of ownership over the nuclear weapons located on its territory, by adopting the appropriate decree on this subject.

"In the absence of confirmation of Ukraine's status as the owner of the nuclear weapons located on its territory, the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet cannot start definitive consideration of the START I Treaty. Owing to the Ukrainian and world public's imprecise knowledge regarding their positions, Ukraine's ratification of the treaty could be viewed as a case of Ukraine's elimination of nuclear weapons that do not belong to it.

"Certain states' attempts to force Ukraine immediately to ratify the START I Treaty, the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and the Lisbon Protocol, and to renounce the status of a state which de facto and de jure is the owner of nuclear weapons from the viewpoint of international law, are intolerable.

"A profound analysis of the agreements mentioned is being conducted in Ukrainian Supreme Soviet commissions. It must provide an answer as to whether they are in Ukraine's national interests and the interests of national security. It is clear even now that a whole range of problems must be solved before START I is ratified. In particular, this applies to the question of compensation for the nuclear materials removed from the warheads of the tactical nuclear weapons which were transported from Ukraine to Russia in spring 1992, to the guarantee of these weapons' destruction by Russia, to the huge financial costs of reducing nuclear potential, and to other no less important problems. We are grateful to those states that are offering Ukraine certain resources to cover the costs of cutting nuclear weapons. Questions of nuclear disarmament, state independence, national security, and territorial integrity, however, cannot be the subject of bargaining or any monetary compensation.

"Ukraine is the first state in the world to have stated its intention to get rid of its nuclear weapons in the future voluntarily and on its own initiative. It immediately set about carrying out this intention, by transporting tactical nuclear weapons from its territory last year. We hope that other nuclear states will follow Ukraine's example."

The statement was signed by representatives of practically all Ukraine's political parties, movements, and groupings.

Kravchuk Congratulates Yeltsin on Referendum Victory

LD2704142693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1407 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By UKRINFORM for TASS]

[Text] Kiev April 27 TASS—Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk congratulated Boris Yeltsin with a victory at the Sunday [25 April] referendum during a telephone conversation on Tuesday.

Preliminary results convincingly testify that most voters support Boris Yeltsin and his course of reforms, according to Kravchuk.

The presidents also discussed bilateral relations.

Two Black Sea Fleet Crews Take Oath to Ukraine

MK2704130093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Apr 93 p 3

[Aleksandr Pilat report under "Crimea" rubric: "Sposobnyy and Yelnya Reinforce Ukrainian Naval Forces. Two Black Sea Fleet Ships' Crews Take Ukrainian Oath"]

[Text] On 24 April the crew of the Black Sea Fleet's large antisubmarine warfare ship Sposobnyy, commanded by Captain Second Rank Sergey Yeliseyev, took the oath of loyalty to the Ukrainian people and appealed to President Leonid Kravchuk and Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov, requesting that the ship be put under Ukrainian jurisdiction and included as part of the Ukrainian Armed Forces.

The Sposobnyy previously belonged to the Pacific Fleet. It was undergoing a major overhaul in Sevastopol.

The appeal to the Ukrainian president and defense minister says that the ship's officers and warrant officers consider themselves Ukrainian citizens. "Almost every one of us has relatives or families living here in Sevastopol. Therefore the crew made its choice and took the Ukrainian oath. We want to be an asset to the Ukrainian state," the appeal stresses.

On the same day the crew of the auxiliary fleet tanker Yelnya took the oath to Ukraine and sent a corresponding appeal to the Ukrainian president and defense minister. The crew is requesting that the ship be included as part of the Ukrainian Naval Forces.

The Ukrainian state flag has been hoisted on the Yelnya and Sposobnyy.

A NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent was informed by the Ukrainian Naval Forces press center that "this is the crews' free expression of will. Nobody from the Ukrainian fleet talked to the sailors before the oath was taken. We officially repudiate claims which have already appeared that pressure was put on the members of these two crews by the Ukrainian Naval Forces."

Iran To Supply 4 Million Tonnes of Oil Annually

LD2604155393 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 26 Apr 93

[Text] Ukraine has extended a contract under which it is to receive 4 million tonnes of crude oil a year, as well as natural gas from Iran. An oil duct is to link Ukraine and Iran via Azerbaijan and Russia. A big oil terminal is to be built near the city of Odessa on the Black Sea coast. It will receive oil from Iran and the Middle East.

National Affairs

Kuchma Wants Emergency Powers Extended To Aid Reform

LD2704140493 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1300 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Text] The Ukrainian Government will demand an extension of emergency powers from parliament. Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma stated this during a conversation with journalists. In his words, a strong executive power is needed in order to implement economic reform, and the government requires emergency powers in order to speed up privatization of state enterprises in May. In

particular, the government has the intention of [word indistinct] the State Property Fund and the National Bank, which are currently under the supervision of parliament, to the Cabinet of Ministers.

Kuchma Discusses Pynzenyk's Dismissal, Privatization

AU2704152693 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 24 Apr 93 p 2

[Report on news conference by Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma in Kiev on 22 April]

[Text] On 22 April, Prime Minister L. Kuchma held yet another meeting with Ukrainian and foreign journalists. The conversation dealt with our governmental delegation's official visit to Arab countries of the Persian Gulf.

URYADOVYY KURYER reported on the trip in detail and carried its assessments and conclusions made by the prime minister. They were confirmed at the news conference, so there is no reason to repeat them. Issues that did not quite deal with the theme of the conversation but that are of great public concern are a different matter.

Why, for example, was Viktor Pynzenyk dismissed from the post of minister of the economy? Some people think that it was due to a) the government's desire to be loyal to the deputies majority on the eve of discussing the question on the extension of the term of its extraordinary powers and b) differences in the positions occupied by Viktor Pynzenyk and the prime minister.

Leonid Kuchma replied that, in the given case, neither "a" nor "b" applied. Viktor Pynzenyk had long raised the question of being relieved from the post of minister of the economy, because, as vice prime minister at the Cabinet of Ministers, he was responsible for all questions of the economic reform, and not for the Ministry of the Economy. That is why his dismissal from the post was the decision taken by V. Pynzenyk himself.

The prime minister emphasized that he had very high respect for V. Pynzenyk. He remarked, however: V. Pynzenyk has one shortcoming—his young age and, therefore, lack of experience. However, he has a desire to work and that is the main thing.

Correspondents then asked why the prime minister does not fulfill his promise given in one of the speeches—to transfer, by the end of the first quarter, all directors of enterprises to contract terms of relations with the government. To this, L. Kuchma replied that, perhaps, he had not expressed his idea accurately enough at that time. This decision was only adopted in the first quarter. It is, therefore, not desirable to turn this into a campaign. It must be difficult and painstaking work.

The next question was on what had caused the appearance of the decree banning the participation of banks in the privatization process.

It is known worldwide, explained L. Kuchma, what banks are engaged in. We also want them to do their proper business. Purchasing real estate is not the right occupation for banks.

The following question was also asked. On 21 April, the parliament made an attempt to cancel the decree on currency regulation—the part that envisages obligatory sale of 50 percent of the hard currency to the state. Is this correct?

Hard currency must obligatorily be sold to the state, stressed the prime minister, especially rubles. It must be 100 percent and not 50 percent. I advocated this and continue to do so. We do not have the money to pay for oil and gas. It is, therefore, not ruled out that we will return to considering this question.

Valeriy Pustovoytenko and Yuriy Bannykov have joined the government. The correspondents asked in accordance with what qualities were they selected.

Leonid Kuchma answered that he selects people according to their efficiency alone. Valeriy Pustovoytenko is a professional in precisely this sphere. A. Lobov did not quite cope with his duties. Regarding Yu. Bannykov, he is also a high-class professional. He is experienced at the ministry and was among the first to have embarked upon the interesting experiment in privatization. Such people must get support.

The audience seemed to remain dissatisfied with the prime minister's earlier reply regarding the evaluation of the activity of Health Minister Yu. Spizhenko. In this connection, Leonid Kuchma specified: Any minister must resign in such a situation, if he has failed to find a common language with the deputies corps or his own commission. Yu. Spizhenko is inclined to do so and such a question is presently under scrutiny.

The next question was on the struggle against the mafia that had been declared by the government. The prime minister answered this: In May, when the question of the government's powers will be discussed, we will raise it in an even stronger way. The present system of combating the mafia does not work. In the given situation, the government is unable to do everything.

It was reiterated at the news conference that the privatization process is not proceeding properly. L. Kuchma agreed with this and listed the reasons. Today, there are too many owners of our property. The State Property Fund must, after all, be subordinated to the government. Privatization does not take root in trade because so-called lease relations prevail there. Moreover, there are not enough specialists or organizing forces to implement privatization. The prime minister also answered the correspondents' other questions.

Morozov Calls Political Activity in Army 'Inadmissible'

LD2704190593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Text] Colonel General Kostyantyn Morozov, Ukraine defense minister, considers the revival of political activity in the army to be inadmissible. The press service of the Ukraine Defense Ministry has reported this.

Morozov raised this issue in connection with the fact that a draft resolution on the decrees of the presidium of the Supreme Council of Ukraine of 26 and 30 August 1991 on the temporary suspension of the activity of the Communist Party of Ukraine, and on the ban on the activity of the Communist Party of Ukraine, has been prepared at the presidium of the Supreme Council of Ukraine.

This resolution does not in any way concern the armed forces, in which the activity of any political parties and movements is banned (?by means of the law of Ukraine). The minister of defense of Ukraine stresses that those troops, who contrary to the law become involved in the revival of political activity in the army, will be released from the ranks of the armed forces of Ukraine.

Chornovil Views Economy, Nuclear Weapons, NATO, Elections

LD2704143793

[Editorial Report] Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian at 1900 GMT on 26 April broadcasts a 59-minute live or recorded phone-in program with Vyacheslav Chornovil, leader of Rukh and former presidential candidate.

Answering a question from the announcer on what he would have done had he been elected president, Chornovil says that the situation in Ukraine would have been better. He says that immediately after the election campaign he would have dissolved the Supreme Council and convened new elections on a multiparty basis. The old government would also have been dismissed, he says.

Speaking about the CIS, Chornovil expresses the view that it serves no purpose. He says: "We have received nothing from the CIS. If we do have anything, it is only because of bilateral agreements with Russia and other states formed in the ruins of the USSR." He further adds: "I would not have signed the Yalta agreement regarding the Black Sea Fleet, which has led us again into a blind alley."

Speaking about the withdrawal of Ukraine's nuclear weapons, he says: "I would not have withdrawn tactical nuclear weapons. Moreover, at present, during discussions of the military doctrine, we raised the issue that this was a crime. We are searching for the person most guilty of this crime. The Supreme Council did not ratify any treaty on the withdrawal of tactical nuclear weapons."

Speaking about economic reform, Chornovil says that following the dismissal of the old government, he would have formed a new government consisting of supporters of economic and democratic reform.

On the subject of the present government, Chornovil says that he is not very happy with it although Rukh supports it. He states: "It began very well. Consultations with various political forces were held. People ended up there because of our recommendations, and the government declared its desire to conduct reforms." However, Chornovil continues, the government came under pressure from the majority in the Supreme Council, which blocked all decrees that had anything to do with reforms. He adds that there was also pressure from the president, which resulted in personnel changes, such as the resignation of Ihor Yukhnovskyy; Deputy Prime Minister Pynzenyk was deprived of his post as minister of the economy and his best decrees are not being implemented; there is pressure on the minister of foreign economic relations to issue licenses which are not beneficial to Ukraine; Yevtukhov is permitting the export of goods without prepayment although a decree was adopted about prepayment; and privatization is being delayed and the floatation of industrial enterprises is being blocked. Because of this, Rukh will adopt more of a critical stand towards the government, says Chornovil.

On the subject of whether Rukh is a political party or social organization, Chornovil says that Rukh has been reregistered as a political party and the change in status at the fourth congress in December 1992 will enable Rukh to nominate candidates in the next elections. According to Chornovil, Rukh's campaign to gather signatures for fresh elections collapsed because of the referendum law which demanded the gathering of a minimum of 3 million signatures. This figure was excessive, says Chornovil. He adds that in Russia the minimum number required is 1 million. Chornovil expresses the view that the number of signatures collected—1.5 million—was very high and that it was because of this campaign that Fokin's government was forced to resign. There is no sense now, he says, in renewing the campaign and a new way of dissolving the parliament has to be found.

On the subject of military alliances, Chornovil rejects any suggestion that Ukraine should join a new CIS military alliance. With regard to NATO he says: "We could join NATO only in the event that NATO transforms itself from a military bloc into a system of collective security in Europe. Then Ukraine, being outside the bloc, could join this collective security system and Russia could also join it."

Council Discusses National Guard Draft

LD2704195393 Kiev UKRINFORM in Ukrainian 1715 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Text] [no dateline as received] A council on the matter of regular conscription for active military service has

taken place at the chief directorate of the commander of the National Guard of Ukraine. The press service of the commander of the National Guard of Ukraine reported that commanders of formations and units and officers who are to teach and educate the young intake took part in the council. An exchange of experience in organizing and carrying out conscription took place. A good guard intake is expected this spring.

Lieutenant General of the Guard Volodymyr Kukharets, commander of the National Guard of Ukraine, spoke at the council.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev, Austria's Vranitzky Hold News Conference

LD2704140393 Almaty KAZTAG in Russian 1000 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Excerpts] On the night of 26 April Austrian Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky arrived in Almaty on an official visit. [passage omitted]

Private talks were held between President Nursultan Nazarbayev and Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, and then with the broader participation of members of the official delegations. During the talks it was noted that close relations had taken shape between the two states, which had been inaugurated by the memorandum on cooperation and other accords reached during Nazarbayev's visit to Austria in February last year. The time that has elapsed since has been fruitful. Austria has granted credits to Kazakhstan, possibilities are being examined for setting up joint ventures with their help, and other previously elaborated projects are being put into effect. The current visit will without doubt contribute to the growth of mutual understanding between the business circles of both countries and the strengthening of partnership in the political and economic spheres.

Kazakhstan is distinguished by the presence of huge economic resources and stability in society, which is having a positive effect on its possibilities for increasing co-operation with other states. This is borne out by the rapid and extensive establishment of ties with Austria. Out of 19 joint projects, 15 will recoup themselves in hard currency. Thus, considerable profits are promised by a five-star hotel in Almaty, for the joint construction of which talks have already begun. The sides are planning to conclude agreements in the very near future on trade and economic cooperation and on incentives and mutual protection for investments.

On conclusion of the talks an intergovernmental agreement on air communications between Almaty and Vienna and a memorandum on investments for the reconstruction of the Karaganda metallurgical combine were signed.

Taking part in the talks on the Kazakhstan side were Deputy Prime Minister Asygat Zhabagin; Nurtay Abykayev, head of the presidential and Cabinet of Ministers apparatus; Foreign Minister Tuleutay Suleymenov; Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Syzdyk Abishev; and Minister of Industry Albert Salamatin.

Nazarbayev and Vranitzky held a joint news conference in which they placed emphasis on the importance of implementing joint projects, beneficial both to Kazakhstan and to Austria. Just the fact that the delegation of guests is accompanied by 80 businessmen speaks of their intention to take an active part in the emergence of a market economy in our republic.

The sides' aspiration to mutually beneficial cooperation fully corresponds to their practical actions. Just implementing the signed memorandum on modernizing the Karaganda combine will make it possible to save 20 percent of metal and improve its quality, which will make the output the enterprise produces competitive on the world market. Modern Austrian technology will thus help Kazakhstan realize its rich economic possibilities more rapidly. They also told journalists that in their private talks they had discussed a large range of problems concerning the Asian and European continents and the countries of the CIS. In the afternoon there was a meeting at the business center between Nazarbayev, Vranitzky and representatives of the business circles of Kazakhstan and Austria.

The president of our republic stressed that during the current visit a still greater coincidence had emerged in the views of the sides regarding the prospects for further cooperation. There are all the conditions for the business people of the two states to be able to work on the basis of trust and stability. Vranitzky spoke of the ardent aspiration of the businessmen of his country intensively to master Kazakhstan's market, which is very promising for western firms.

The Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Syzdyk Abishev noted the rapid quantitative and qualitative growth in Kazakhstan-Austrian joint ventures. There are already 18 of them in operation. Trade is developing vigorously. The mutual commodity turnover between our two countries will reach 15.5 million U.S. dollars this year. During the meeting a number of representatives of Austrian firms and Kazakhstan business circles put forward constructive proposals for implementing the planned projects, and it is remarkable that the leaders of the two states helped to bring their points of view closer together rapidly.

The same day Vranitzky visited the world famous highland skating rink "Medeo". In the evening a reception was given by the president of Kazakhstan in honor of the eminent guest.

Armenia

Spokesman Views Ter-Petrosyan's Meeting With Elchibey

PM2704133193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Apr 93 First Edition p 7

[Karen Topchyan report: "Presidents of Armenia and Azerbaijan Have Boosted Dialogue"]

[Text] Yerevan—After attending the funeral of Turkish President Turgut Ozal, the heads of Armenia and Azerbaijan met recently in Ankara. The unprecedented nature of the 30-minute conversation between Levon Ter-Petrosyan and Abulfaz Elchibey lies in the fact that this was the first top-level meeting between the presidents of Armenia and Azerbaijan since Mr. Elchibey was elected to his post last May. So the results of the Ankara talks are naturally the center of attention of political observers in Yerevan. Of course, the presidents of both states devoted chief attention to the sharp deterioration in the situation in the region of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh in recent weeks.

Quite well-informed sources in the Armenian capital maintain that the initiators of the meeting were Turkish Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel and also Leonid Kravchuk and Eduard Shevardnadze, the leaders of Ukraine and Georgia, who were in Ankara. Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin told the ANATOLIAN NEWS AGENCY in an interview that a quadripartite meeting of the leaders of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Ukraine, and Georgia was even held during which it was decided to promote stability in the Caucasus through joint efforts.

It has been learned in Yerevan that confidential talks were held in Moscow during last week between Azerbaijan, Armenia, and the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic with the mediation of the Russian Foreign Ministry. These talks were held on the initiative of Boris Yeltsin, who declared recently that he might be an intermediary in the Transcaucasus conflict.

Aram Abramyan, press secretary to the Armenian president, denied a report of intermediaries in organizing the meeting between Ter-Petrosyan and Elchibey. He declared that it was the result of a bilateral desire to sit down at the negotiating table. Mr. Abramyan went on to point out that the Armenian president's attendance at Turgut Ozal's funeral was not only a courtesy gesture. "The significance of Levon Ter-Petrosyan's visit is determined by the fruitfulness and importance of the numerous meetings held in Ankara: with the leaders of Azerbaijan, Georgia, Russia, Ukraine, Turkey, the United States, and Iran." In this regard the talks with the president of Azerbaijan were an important step in the development of the political situation in the region. Although Armenia and Azerbaijan still adhere to different viewpoints on the causes of the deterioration in the situation in the confrontation zone, at the same time the sides arrived at an agreement to continue seeking mutually acceptable solutions within the framework of the Minsk conference of the CSCE. As for the other intermediaries in resolving the Karabakh crisis, their initiatives, in the opinion of the leaders of Armenia and Azerbaijan, must fit within the CSCE framework. A peace settlement must be a unified process.

In reply to my question as to whether a path to concord is possible in the very near future, the Armenian president's press secretary said: "Ending the confrontation and moving the conflict to the political level is undoubtedly a matter for the near future. This is borne out not only by the Armenian-Azerbaijani talks but also by the meetings in Ankara with other representatives of the sides involved. They all agree that a cease-fire is needed in Nagorno-Karabakh, and they promised their assistance in efforts to secure an armistice."

Meanwhile a CSCE delegation has concluded a visit to the region of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict. It is tackling technical questions of the likely stationing of this organization's observers in the confrontation zone in the near future. Members of the delegation visited Baku, Yerevan, Stepanakert, and Agdam.

EEC Gives Armenia 20 Million ECU Credit

LD2704191993 Moscow ECONOMIC NEWS AGENCY in Russian 1600 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Text] At his press conference on 26 April, State Minister of the Republic of Armennia Gagik Shakhbazyan reported that the recent frosts have badly damaged the future harvest. The apricot, peach, and nut orchards are especially badly hit. The state minister reported that a draft government decision on compensation for material losses suffered by the agricultural enterprises due to bad weather is now being prepared. It is recommended that the compensation should depend on the size of the damaged area and other parameters.

Gagik Shakhbazyan reported that apart from the 38 million ECU credit given by the EEC to Armenia in 1992, an agreement was recently signed according to which this organization has given Armenia another 20 million ECUs. It is expected that part of this credit will be spent on purchases of grain as well as soya, much needed in agriculture.

Azerbaijan

Presidential Press Service Calls For Peaceful Settlement

NC2704192593 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 27 Apr 93

["Text" of statement by the Presidential Press Service; date not given]

[Text] The question of Armenia's occupation of Azerbaijan's Kelbadzharskiy Rayon remains on the agenda of

international organizations. In light of Azerbaijan's appeal, the UN Security Council has called on Armenians through its chairman to immediately withdraw from the areas they have occupied. Regardless of the effort made in that direction, the Armenian Armed Forces have not only failed to comply with that call but have also maintained their effort to occupy Murovdag in northern Kelbadzhar—an effort that will create an opportunity for them to take control of more Azerbaijani territory. Broadening their propaganda campaign, Armenia's mass media organs have tried to convince the world that Kelbadzhar is historically Armenian territory and that the Armenian claims on that rayon are justified.

Regarding the CSCE delegation's visit, Colonel Hekke Hepponen, head of the delegation, has stressed several times that the delegation members concerned themselves not with political problems but with matters related to the deployment of CSCE observers in the disputed region.

The fact is that the military operations against Azerbaijan were not halted in the other parts of the front. The Armenians attacked Murovdag and Gulistan in Geranboyskiy Rayon from 23 to 26 April. They also fired on Sadarak in Nakhichevan, [placenames indistinct] in Agdamskiy Rayon, and Zangelanskiy Rayon. Consequently, several people were killed or wounded and there was extensive damage. One of the shells fired on Zangelan from Armenia's Kapanskiy Rayon fell on Iran's territory. The incident has been reported in the newspapers.

Azerbaijan confirms once again that there is no alternative to the peaceful settlement of the dispute between the two republics. We support all mediation efforts between the two sides, provided they are within the framework of the peace talks held under CSCE auspices. That was also called for by the chairman of the UN Security Council in his statement on 6 April. We are convinced that every attempt to exclude that process from the CSCE mechanism must be obstructed and the sides must respect the resolutions that have been adopted on the matter. In fact, they must be forced to implement them.

Gasymov Sends Letter to UNSC on Negotiation Terms

NC2704154193 Baku TURAN in English 1438 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Text] Baku, April 27 (TURAN)—Today Foreign Minister Tofik Gasymov sent a letter to the general secretary, the chairman of the UN Security Council.

The document says that the position of Azerbaijan in the settlement of the Armenian-Azeri conflict is as follows:

There is no alternative to peaceful settlement of Armenian-Azeri conflict including the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh status by means of joint efforts under the aegis of CSCE and Minsk group. Today the reopening of these negotiations depends upon the positive settlement of the problem of release of Azerbaijan territories captured by Armenian subunits lately, i.e. position restoration on March 25 1993 (the finishing time of Geneva consultations of group '5+1').

Azerbaijan is ready to enter the negotiations within the limits of CSCE Minsk group and within the limits of group '5+1' after the release of above mentioned territories.

The only guarantee of the release of these Azerbaijan territories is to adopt the Security Council resolution on this question. Azerbaijan has no intention to replace the peaceful negotiating process under the aegis of CSCE for mediatory efforts of some states including Russia said in Tofik Gasymov's letter.

Aliyev Seeks State Council Chairman Position

MK2804095293 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 11, 27 Apr 93 (Signed to Press 26 Apr) p 4

[Mekhman Gafarly report: "Aliyev Lays Claim to Post of State Council Chairman, and Proposes That Elchibey Resign]

[Text] The crisis at the top of the Azerbaijani Government has resulted in the soaring popularity of Geydar Aliyev, chairman of the Supreme Majlis of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic. The Nakhichevan leader's popularity has grown so much that, according to well-informed sources, President Abulfaz Elchibey has even asked him to take the post of prime minister. Aliyev has declined the offer, however, stating that he would settle only for the post of the republic's State Council chairman, which "should be created immediately."

According to the plan proposed by Aliyev, today's leaders of Azerbaijan should resign and power be transferred to a coalition government of "national conciliation" to be made up of representatives of all the republic's political parties. Aliyev, once chairman of Azerbaijan's KGB, first secretary of the republic's Communist Party, and a CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, is now chairman of the New Azerbaijan party which he created. This party is in the same bloc with influential Azeri political forces such as Milli Istiglal (National Independence), and the Union of Democratic Intelligentsia of Azerbaijan, led respectively by Etibar Mamedov and Nizami Suleymanov.

Talking with Elchibey, Aliyev stated that he has a different candidate for the post of prime minister—the noted Azeri academician Nizami Suleymanov, who should fill this office after the creation of a State Council.

The Committee for the Protection of Suleymanov insists that in his run for the republic's presidency last year he secured 62 percent of the votes. According to the Committee, the presidential election results were rigged to favor Elchibey, however.

The position of the republic's parliament speaker in the possible new "coalition government" will most probably be taken by Etibar Mamedov. The new government leaves no position for Elchibey himself, even that of a clerk.

Elchibey has agreed to discuss Aliyev's proposals with him in greater detail. However, Isa Gambarov, the current parliament speaker; Iskander Gamidov, the republic's now former minister of internal affairs; and State Secretary Panakh Guseynov spoke against this course of political events in the republic, accusing Elchibey of betrayal of the People's Front now ruling in Azerbaijan.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Says Yeltsin Gains Support From Referendum

LD2704193393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1906 GMT 27 Apr 93

[By Georgian news agency for TASS]

[Text] Tbilisi April 27 TASS—Georgian state head Eduard Shevardnadze told today's meeting of the republican parliament Russian President Boris Yeltsin gained considerable moral and political support as result of the April referendum.

Conservative forces and the parliament reactionaries were defeated. "We have always said there is no alternative to President Yeltsin; otherwise, Russia will face a threat of dictatorship," noted the Georgian leader. He shared the opinion of U.S. President Bill Clinton and heads of other democratic nations, who estimated the referendum results as an impressive victory of democracy in Russia.

Speaking on the situation in Abkhazia, the state head said despite the recent appeal of the Georgian Parliament to the Abkhazian people to stop the fratricidal conflict, the Gudauta group has again bombed Sukhumi. The Georgian troops command has repeatedly warned in case of on-going bombings of the town, the Georgian side will have to deliver an adequate blow on Gudauta.

Such a step was not been taken before on humane reasons. This time it was done, the Georgian side laments over the bombing and calls on the Gudauta group to stop. If Sukhumi is put under artillery fire again, the response blow will follow immediately and on a larger scale.

Shevardnadze supported an idea to form an Abkhazian Council of Defence and voiced his intention to nominate Chairman of the Abkhazian Council of Ministers Tamaz Nadareishvili council head. Nadareishvili was given the rank of general. The Georgian state head said he will leave for Sukhumi in the immediate future to take a decision on council members.

The parliament meeting unanimously adopted a resolution to instruct the state head to raise the question of the immediate Russian troops withdrawal from Abkhazia. If the Russian side refuses to do it, the zone from the Gumista river through the Psou river, where the Georgian-Russian border is, shall be declared an area occupied by Russian troops.

* * *

Eduard Shevardnadze sent a cable to Russian President Boris Yeltsin today to cordially congratulate him on his victory in the referendum, which confirmed people's confidence in the president and his policy.

"We do not doubt the Russian-Georgian negotiations will be given a fresh impetus in the interest of our peoples and serve to the cause of peace and good-neighbourly relations. I sincerely wish you further success in fulfillment of your difficult mission for the benefit of Russian peoples," says the cable.

Shevardnadze Comments on Abkhazia, Current Issues

LD2604170993 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0515 GMT 26 Apr 93

[Studio interview with Eduard Shevardnadze, head of state and parliament chairman, by unidentified announcer; date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Good morning, friends. Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze, Georgian head of state and chairman of parliament, is with us in the studio.

Sukhumi was bombed again last week. You appealed to the UN Security Council to take a more active stance toward Abkhazia. There was a statement by Butrus-Ghali in the press saying that a special UN envoy will arrive in Georgia. In view of events in Bosnia, do you think the world has grasped the threat of extreme separatism? How specific do you think their involvement in the conflict will be?

[Shevardnadze] I don't think the world has grasped this enormous threat. If you remember my address to the United Nations, I outlined to the assembly for the first time how dangerous for the world and the planet the problem of separatism may be. Unfortunately, these issues are treated in an old, if I may put it this way, academic manner. The measures taken by the United Nations and the Security Council are not sufficient. I have always been in favor of more active involvement by international organizations, even if this involvement is at the expense of state sovereignty. Unfortunately, so far we have seen no sign of this more active stance. An example of this is the Bosnian tragedy and strife.

[Announcer] Excuse me for interrupting, but there have recently been reports that NATO has expressed a wish to get involved in UN affairs.

[Shevardnadze] I welcome this. I have spoken for a long time about something that the U.S. President put forward at one time; that is, the idea of extending the functions of NATO and of a new strategy and new responsibilities for NATO. This idea should become a reality. European security structures should take more responsibility in keeping peace on the continent of Europe. It is no longer the bloc it was. It is turning into an all-European organization, a military-political organization, one of the functions of which is maintaining peace and keeping up the struggle for peace. I see better prospects for this than for UN involvement.

However, we should use the opportunities provided by involving the UN Security Council in settling our internal conflict. We have finally reached agreement that Butrus-Ghali's special personal representative will arrive. There is going to be a mission. Agreement on this has been reached. It will happen in the next few days. He will take part with us in negotiations on settling the conflict. [passage omitted]

[Shevardnadze] The level of political culture was and remains low in the former Soviet Union, Georgia included. Do you remember the reaction of my friend Mikhail Gorbachev to ...

[Announcer, interrupting] Reading the tea leaves.

[Shevardnadze] Indeed, reading the tea leaves. What putsch? What dictatorship? I can't see anything like that. Two months later he himself started to talk of a dictator coming. I want to tell the truth. The putsch happened because of him. The putsch cost Russia and Moscow dear. In my opinion more attention should be paid to forecasts. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Last week you led a Georgian government delegation to Turkey to attend the funeral ceremony for the Turkish president. Our listeners are informed about this. The world's mass media was especially interested in the meeting held on the initiative of the Georgian side between the presidents of the two warring countries, Mr. Abulfaz Elchibey and Mr. Levon Ter-Petrosyan. Moreover, we remember the result of their meeting in Sochi. In fact the Armenian side challenged its results on the second day. Do you think that the Ankara meeting will be able to free the Transcaucasus from this conflict known as the Karabakh war, which may later affect events in Abkhazia in a favorable way?

[Shevardnadze] I think that whatever the result of the meeting between the two might be, it is still a positive event. It does not matter on whose initiative the meeting took place or who mediated. All three of us agreed that we would meet there in Ankara and also on the form of the meeting. We said that they would meet face to face in the end. The fact that the meeting took place is very important. I see in it the beginning of a major movement involving great joint concern for peace on the part of the three Transcaucasian countries and for peaceful skies over the Caucasus, for cloudless skies over the Caucasus. That's how I would like to put it. It seems to me that this movement has started. It is difficult to say how effective it is today or will be tomorrow or in a year's time. But I can see that a foundation has been laid. In any case, we have reached agreement in principle that meetings between the three of us should take place on a regular basis.

You know conflicts in the Caucasus cannot be compared to any other conflicts, even Yugoslavia. The scale of that conflict is immense and we face real catastrophe there. However, the potential threat of the Caucasus conflict is greater. It is perfectly possible for large, I would say giant, states to get dragged into these conflicts. I have said many times that this may happen spontaneously, against the will of governments and authorities. Simply hundreds of thousands or millions will rise and trample upon one small country or another. This is extremely dangerous. These conflicts are dangerous, but the key to resolving them should be sought in the Caucasus.

I think that the Ankara meeting, in organizing which we played a certain role, is a very important event. Despite the fact that the conflicts in Karabakh, Abkhazia and the Tskhinvali zone are of a different nature, there is a pattern in the Caucasus conflicts. There is a pattern here. If our three states concern themselves with peace and ensure that we live under peaceful skies, I think the involvement of others, the involvement of international organizations will be effective. Otherwise it is a waste of energy. [passage omitted]

I would like to say the following: As I said before, we were forced to introduce coupons. However, there is something positive to it. It is our way toward the creation of our own currency, another attribute of an independent state. The beginning was not too bad. It was hopeful. It is still fair. Coupons are in circulation and they are now legal tender. However, as in any other field, there are things which have escaped the attention of the appropriate bodies. Despite the fact that there is a headquarters led by Mr. Roman Gotsiridze, the National Bank is working on this, as is the Ministry of Finance.

However, some things have been overlooked. Decisions have been a long time in coming. At a time like this, when we have a new currency there is a need for a securities exchange. There was a private exchange of this kind, but it was shut down through administrative procedures, using administrative measures. Whether this was right or not is a moot point. At the same time there was an instruction to the National Bank to open a securities exchange. [passage omitted]

Unfortunately, this instruction has not been carries out. There were some other restrictions and, in my opinion, mistakes. These must be corrected.

I would like to use this opportunity of speaking to our listeners to tell them that this is our currency. We are on the way to creating our currency. It is a remarkable event for our state, for our people, for each citizen. Let's try not to let it lose its value, at least not rapidly.

I would like to appeal to commercial structures in particular. I would like them to listen to me, otherwise my request and appeal will probably have to be published in the press. Do not forget, gentlemen, that you came to this world in this country. This course has been started by the state. You are the first results, the first fruit of the market economy. Not everyone is satisfied with you. If popular opinion is anything to go by, you still have a lot to think about. I don't think that your boycott of coupons is right. You should not be fighting the state. The state is your protector. The state will assist in the development of commercial systems and the transition to new market relations.

I often think of a new, more liberal taxation system to promote genuine business and commerce and give way to private capital and initiative. I see this as the future. If you want this attitude to prevail and have your hands untied, then please assist us now. You should not resort to actions which would make the coupons rapidly lose their value. In practice this is an action directed against our state. I do not want to resort to administrative measures. It would not be right to put a policeman in each store and enterprise, but I believe that your sense of civic responsibility will be aroused and you will do what Georgian citizens must do at this time.

The Cabinet of Ministers is considering the issue of prices. I think you remember me saying that the time has come to bring price and salary rises into line with each other. It is virtually impossible to stop rising prices. Nor is it possible for the state to patch up the hole in the budget which stems from the subsidies that bridge the gap between prices and salaries. This avenue has been exhausted. The budget in fact does not exist. Therefore there must be some levelling out. I put the issue like that. Rises in salary must come before rises in prices for such things as bread, power, and some other basic commodities. On the basis of this idea, the Cabinet of Ministers will consider this issue. If a decision is made to raise prices, then there will be a guarantee of salary increases as well and at a faster pace.

As for panic that grain is running out in Georgia and we are going to starve, the threat was indeed looming but several days ago we received more aid from our American friends—30,000 tonnes of grain. That will last us several months. There are some other ships on the way. This is not the first time that such aid has come, and I would like our people to express their gratitude to the American people and administration. This is a hand being held out to us at a most difficult time. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] You have spoken many times about the role of Mengrelia in the Abkhazian conflict. Just recently an armed unit of Kobalia, a supporter of former President Gamsakhurdia, entered Ochamchira. Mr. Tengiz Kitovani said on Georgian television that what has happened is something that Georgia has long been awaiting. The country has reunited. Do you have anything to add to what you said immediately after the event?

[Shevardnadze] I have spoken many times about this issue. I know the reason why Mr. Tengiz Kitovani went there. It was a useful and necessary mission. But I would not say that Georgia has been united just because a unit of about 120 to 150 people has entered Abkhazia. I have never believed that there is separatism in Mengrelia. It does not exist. We have invented the notion. It is one thing that the government in a certain region does not control the situation, for example in Chkhorotsku and Tsalenjikha. Perhaps there are some other rayons like that. But it does not mean in any way that the people of Tsalenjikha can imagine living without Georgia, or want to set up their own state. This is not true.

That is the first thing. Now for the second thing. I don't want to play down the entry of Mr. Kobalia into Ochamchira. I welcome the news. It is very important. But I have to say that before he did so there were fighters from Khobi, Senaki, and Zugdidi in Abkhazia. I think there is also a unit from Poti, as well as from Martvili, Tsalenjikha, Chkhorotsku, Abasha, and so on. So we cannot say that Mengrelia is cool toward events in Abkhazia. I would like to repeat that the Kobalia unit going there had a symbolic meaning which helped us overcome a psychological barrier. This is why I welcomed it. If this is a sincere step by these people, including Mr. Kobalia, I would welcome it twice. [passage omitted]

Further on Abkhazia

LD2604195393 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1630 GMT 26 Apr 93

[Interview with Eduard Shevardnadze, head of state and parliament chairman, in Tbilisi "this past weekend" by announcer Gabor Nemes; Shevardnadze speaks in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Nemes] What kind of compromises are you prepared to conclude in order to solve the military conflicts in Abkhazia and South Ossetia?

[Shevardnadze] Here, in principle there is no need for any kind of compromise, for everything is clear; the agreement Yeltsin and I signed determines the principles of the solution in Abkhazia. I am convinced that Abkhazia will maintain its former status, it will remain an autonomous republic within the Georgian state. All other questions such as, for example, the territorial one or the structure of the state will be decided by the new constitution. [passage omitted]

Of course, you are interested in the conflict; well, there is no conflict between the Georgians and the Abkhazians. The conflict is between the Georgian state, which is currently building its independence and sovereignty on the one hand, and separatism on the other, or, more precisely, a separatism supported by a third force. Our

tragedy lies in this. Still, I think that we can settle this conflict, primarily through a dialogue between the Georgians and the Abkhazians.

[Nemes] The third force you mention is Russia. You are in open conflict in Abkhazia with this big power, although in other areas and other conflicts you cooperate with it. What role will Russia play and what will be the relationship with it, once the current Abkhazian affair is solved?

[Shevardnadze] Whatever scenario materializes, we are ready to form normal, good-neighborly, friendly relations with Russia. I, for one, do not see an alternative. To fight, to permit the possibility of a Georgian-Russian war to arise is not only nonsense but would, in my view, would also lead to catastrophe. [passage omitted]

There are hardly any differences of view between myself and President Yeltsin. Possibly we see things differently in nuances but we understand each other well. It was the result of this mutual understanding that we were able to sign the Georgian-Russian agreement on 3 September 1992. We will now meet again after the referendum, and I am sure that we will solve many issues. [passage omitted]

[Nemes] The press is full of strange, anti-Shevardnadze statements by the minister of defense. In practice, how effective is what you represent in, for example, Abkhazia or anywhere in the country? Are there not two poles of power in certain areas of the country and in the power structures?

[Shevardnadze] I would not speak of dual powers. There is the parliament, the highest legislative body, there is the president, we have a government. Thus, I do not think that we have dual powers here. Of course, there are difficulties that go with independence, the complicated processes of constructing an independent state. The shaping of the executive power, the legislative power is part of these difficulties. We are talking about a young state. [passage omitted]

[Nemes] Among those parliamentary and political circles which support you, the demand for the need of an iron fist is voiced from time to time. Proposals range from a state of emergency to presidential rule. The essence of these demands is that there should at last be law and order with Shevardnadze at its head.

[Shevardnadze] Surely there is some foundation to the complaints. However, I also know that when people start dreaming about an iron fist, they forget that this iron fist can also be very dangerous. Those who demand an iron fist with the best of intentions only have in mind the establishment of order. But this person with the iron fist might become possibly a dictator and therefore, because of bitter experiences, for I know what a dictatorship means, I am very cautious about this. My mission is to help the creation of a democratic society, democratic state. I have already told you that this is a complicated and painful process.

It would be easier if I would direct it with that iron fist. If necessary, I am capable of doing this too, but I think that there is no need for this.

Possibly, it may look as an attractive option from the point of view of the situation today; that is, the scenario that Shevardnadze should establish order, should take all powers into his own hands—but I consider this as impermissible. For we must think of tomorrow too and I am sure that Georgia's future can only lie with democratic development.

[Nemes] What forces do you intend to rely on for this?

[Shevardnadze] On the people and the people only. This is not a mere phrase, I do indeed believe that the people are able to decide for themselves.

[Nemes] What I mean is, do you want to appeal to the people directly?

[Shevardnadze] I have already done this when it was necessary. I feel the people's support and am not frightened by any kind of attack or statements made by persons of any rank. As long as my support is there, I carry out my mission.

[Nemes] Does this mean in effect that you appeal directly to the people by bypassing the existing power structures, going over their heads?

[Shevardnadze] I appeal to the people as well as to parliament. A very original system operates here. I, as the president of the house, work in the parliament too, as well as being simultaneously head of state and commander of the armed forces. Thus, I have enough power, indeed more than I would need. [passage omitted]

Seeks Expanded NATO Role

LD2704060693 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0400 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Text] Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze has spoken out in favor of a more energetic participation by NATO in settling the Abkhaz and other conflicts in Europe. In a weekly radio interview he noted that the Caucasian conflicts are potentially more dangerous that the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Shevardnadze believes that giant states might be drawn into them, irrespective of the will of their governments.

Kitovani, General Karkarashvili Hold News Conference

Deny Coup Rumors

LD2604170193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 26 Apr 93

[Report by Iprinda correspondent Zurab Dvali from Tbilisi]

[Text] Georgian Defense Minister Tengiz Kitovani and Brigade General Gey Karkarashvili, commander of the

rapid deployment corps, held a news conference today in the building of the Council of Ministers in Tbilisi. In light of recent events in Abkhazia, the very fact that such a meeting took place was of interest.

Correspondents attending the news conference were naturally interested in the issue which was prompted by some political leaders and which has been discussed by various mass media bodies for the past few days, namely, how true the rumors about a military coup under the command of Tengiz Kitovani are. These rumors are intrigues of forces which are against the independence and integrity of Georgia and also against the path of democratic development chosen by the republic. As for Gey Karkarashvili, he said that if there was any conspiracy, then this conspiracy [words indistinct]. The defense minister noted that his position does not always coincide with the view taken by the head of the state. This does not mean, however, that he intends to start some kind of political games behind Shevardnadze's back.

Having touched upon the situation in the area of the Abkhazian-Georgian conflict, Tengiz Kitovani said that each day of the war costs the republic 20 million rubles, without counting expenditure on weapons. With regard to the shelling of Sukhumi, which is still continuing, the defense minister stressed that the Abkhazian Armed Forces managed to seize 12 self-propelled howitzers and 12 Grad launchers which allows them to shell the town at regular intervals.

Having touched upon Russian Armed Forces' participation in the conflict, Tengiz Kitovani stressed that this issue can be finally resolved only at a meeting of the heads of state of Russia and Georgia. At the same time Kitovani noted that he is not very optimistic about the fact that the results of the referendum in Russia can change the policy of the Russian Federation with regard to Georgia. Kitovani said that during talks in Sochi, Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev agreed at first that Russian units should be withdrawn from Abkhazia, but then suddenly changed his mind after he talked to Boris Yeltsin.

General Mobilization Rejected

LD2604155693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 26 Apr 93

[Correspondent Nana Gongadze report; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The eight months of military operations in Abkhazia have cost the opposing sides approximately 1,500 lives, and the numbers wounded and maimed have already reached 4,000. Each day the war costs Georgia 20 million [figure as heard]. This information was given at a news conference today by Tengiz Kitovani, the republic's defense minister. In spite of the serious situation, he rejected general mobilization, referring to the possibility of settling the conflict through dialogue and negotiation, especially, he added, because Vakhtang Kobalia, the leader of the armed formations in western Georgia—whose units control the situation on the Tkvarcheli front—has already joined in this process. The minister voiced concern about the fate of a mining town where the methane that has built up could cause first an explosion and then an earthquake in western Georgia.

Reports that a military coup is being prepared under Kitovani's leadership were also denied. Asked what would be done if parliament decided to dismiss him, Kitovani replied: That is for the people and the Army to decide.

Kitovani Said Moving Units to Tbilisi To Help in Power Struggle

LD2804115793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1124 GMT 28 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow April 28 TASS—Georgian military units loyal to Defence Minister Tenghiz Kitovani have been transferred from Abkhazia to Tbilisi of late, according to the Abkhazian Defence Ministry. It claimed that Kitovani needs the units to help his supporters in their struggle for power.

In the meantime, Georgian forces continued to shell Abkhazian settlements of Esheri, Primorskoe and others on Wednesday, according to the source.

Defense Ministry To Take Over Russian Ammunition Depot

LD2704175393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1631 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Text] Tbilisi, 27 Apr (GIA-TASS)—The Georgian Defense Ministry has decided to take an ammunition depot belonging to Russian armed forces under the control of the military police. The Defense Ministry has indicated that it made this decision because apparently some illegal armed groups are preparing an attack on the depot.

Army Corps Command Protests Attacks Against Sukhumi

LD2804111293 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0200 GMT 28 Apr 93

[Statement issued by the Army Corps Command in Abkhazia; date not given]

[Text] Despite numerous warnings from the Army Corps, Gudauta extremists, their mercenaries and patrons, still continue to shell and bomb Sukhumi's residential buildings. One-hundred-and-fifty civilian citizens have been killed and more than 2,000 wounded as a result of shell and bomb explosions. Georgians, Abkhazians, Russians and Armenians are being killed in this war. More than 850 residential and administrative buildings have been destroyed. The town's market has been

bombed, killing tens of citizens. The barbarous action of the enemy compelled the Command of the Army's 2d Corps, after numerous warnings, to carry out retaliatory actions and bomb the headquarters and the location site of Gudauta fighters and their mercenaries. If this forced and extreme measure fails to stop the barbarous attacks on the town of Sukhumi, the Command of the Army Corps retains the right to continue retaliatory attacks on a more serious scale. With a view to avoiding the escallation of destruction of towns and populated areas by both sides, the command of the corps suggests that the enemy stop bombing and shelling Sukhumi, give up combat actions directed against the civilian population, and start negotiations.

Parliament Appeals to Abkhaz To Unite Against 'Evil Empire'

AU2604151093 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 23 Apr 93 p 1

["Appeal From the Georgian Parliament to the Abkhazian People" issued in Tbilisi on 22 April]

[Text] The fratricidal war has been raging in Abkhazia for nine months now. Thousands of people have died and tens of thousands of families have been left destitute; towns and villages are being destroyed and laid to waste. A land that was created as a paradise on earth by God has begun to resemble hell. If we do not come to our senses in time, not a single Abkhaz or Georgian will remain there.

Perhaps we should at least now reflect and realize that this war suits only those who wish to revive "the evil empire" and that all misunderstandings between us—Georgians and Abkhaz who, for centuries, have been living as brothers in one motherland—have been imposed upon us precisely by this "evil empire" and that only together will we be able to liberate ourselves from it.

Let us remind ourselves of when our ancestors were strong, right, and victorious: Only then when they were united both in grief and in joy, during the defense and construction of their own common homeland, when they firmly believed to the end that there was no Abkhazian problem that, at the same time, was also not a Georgian problem and that there was no Georgian problem to which the Abkhaz could remain indifferent. Let us not insult the fraternity of our ancestors, let us not disturb their holy souls.

Let us think about our children and grandchildren; let us not take upon ourselves the unpardonable sin; they, after all, will have to live together as neighbors, provided we leave them the chance to live in this world.

The Georgian Parliament appeals to the representatives of the Abkhazian people, the elders, and deputies of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic Supreme Council: Let us meet wherever and whenever you like so that we can discuss and resolve all the problems existing between us in such a way as befits the dignity of the Abkhazian and Georgian peoples and our chivalrous traditions.

Tbilisi, 22 April 1993.

RGFT Staff Chief Ready To Cooperate With Military Leaders

AU2704091493 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 22 Apr 93 p 1

[GIA report under rubric "According to Reports From Correspondents and Information Agencies": "Colonel Baluyevskiy: 'We Are Ready To Cooperate With the Georgian Military Leaders on All Questions"]

[Text] **"The main problem of the Russian military in the Transcaucasian region is determining the status of Russia's troops in the Transcaucasus,"** stated Colonel Yuriy Baluyevskiy, chief of staff of the Russian Group of Forces in the Transcaucasus (RGFT), in an interview for the newspaper ZAKAVKAZSKIYE VOYENNIYE VEDOMOSTI.

According to him, another urgent problem is that of bringing the troops up to strength, as conscripts often do not want to go to hotspots. If Georgia requires us to help during the period of the creation of a national army, not only in protecting the republic's borders but also in the creation, bringing up to strength, and training of this army, then we are ready to help, said Col. Baluyevskiy. A big problem is that a legal vacuum has formed around Russian servicemen in Georgia.

According to the colonel, it is essential that a system of contract service be applied in the Transcaucasus. Nevertheless, this law, as yet, has not been reinforced materially.

Diplomatic Relations Established With South Africa

AU2804095093 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0700 GMT 28 Apr 93

[Text] Yesterday, Batoni [Georgian polite form of address] Georgia's Foreign Affairs Minister Aleksandr Chikvaidze received Deon van Schoor, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of South Africa to Ukraine. During their talks, the ambassador expressed interest in the current internal political processes in Georgia. The sides exchanged views on the situation that has taken shape in Abkhazia. The ambassador expressed his government's position and confirmed that his republic was loyal to the principle of the territorial integrity of Georgia and the inviolability of its borders. He confirmed the great desire of Batoni Frederik de Clerk, president of the Republic of South Africa,

and of his government, to develop relations with the Republic of Georgia. In conclusion, Batoni Aleksandr Chikvaidze and Batoni Deon van Schoor exchanged notes on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Republic of Georgia and the Republic of South Africa.

Estonia

Structure of Defense Forces Detailed

LD2304165893 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1700 GMT 22 Apr 93

[Text] [Announcer] Now some details about Estonian state defense, make-up of the defense forces and border guards, and location of the units:

[Correspondent] As of March 1993, the Estonian Defense Forces consisted of about 2,500 men as officers and rank-and-file staff. The defense forces currently consist of the following: the independent Kalev infantry battalion and the communications company located at Jagala; the independent guard battalion, the motor transport company and the independent air-defense radar battalion located in Tallinn; the independent Kuperjanov infantry battalion and the defense forces' battle-training school located in Voru; and the independent Viru infantry battalion at Johvi. A defense forces band also forms a part of the defense forces.

The sixteen Kaitseliit [defense league] units consist of about 6,000 men. There are 97 paid staff in the organization. Approximately 2,000 men are serving in border guards which falls under the administration of the Ministry of Interior. Of those, 1,200 are the defense forces' conscripts and the rest are volunteer border guards. There are 12 border cordons in Estonia, 25 passport checking posts, four coast-guard patrol boats, and two aircraft.

The rapid reaction regiment for internal use and rescue units form also a part of the defense forces' services. About 270 conscripts and 70 police officers serve in rapid reaction regiments located in Tallinn and at Narva-Joesuu. Tallinn rescue company, Johvi rescue regiment, and Tartu rescue company are subordinated to the rescue department. Rescue units are about 100-strong units made up of conscripts.

Conscripts are called up four times annually, in order to supplement the rank-and-file staff. In the course of 1993, 4,200 men will be called up. Of those, 2,200 will go into defense forces; 1,500 into border guards, 300 into the rapid-reaction regiment for internal use and 200 into rescue service.

Latvia

Government Communique Criticizes Yeltsin Statement

WS2704123793 Riga LETA in English 1055 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Text] Riga, April 27 (LETA)—On April 23, 1993, the Russian Federation President's press center distributed Boris Yeltsin's communique regarding the draft legislation about the issuance of temporary residential permits to persons whose stay in the Republic of Latvia is connected with the temporary dislocation of the Russian Federation military forces in the Republic of Latvia, which draft legislation is being discussed in the Republic of Latvia Supreme Council.

In this regard the Ministry of Foreign Affairs considers it necessary to issue the following communique.

It is surprising that a top state official, respectively, the Russian Federation President, expresses his opinion and makes hasty conclusions about a matter which is being discussed as draft legislation in another country's parliament thereby attempting to influence the course and adoption of such legislation. This is a rare occurrence in international relations and it is difficult to qualify it otherwise but as an interference in a state's internal affairs, especially since the specific draft legislation discusses an item which is irrefutable: the withdrawal of Russia's military forces.

Until now, Russia has not questioned the necessity for the withdrawal of the military forces and has even undertaken obligations within the framework of the CSCE and the UN organizations to withdraw these forces even sooner. However, during the negotiations with Russia, which have been ongoing for more than one year, it had not been possible to reach an agreement about the military personnel and their family members who would need to leave Latvia within the parameters of the army withdrawal. Eventually, such a delay leads to the fact that Russia could demobilize its entire army here which is absolutely unacceptable to Latvia and is in contradiction to Russia's own international obligations to withdraw these military troops. The current discussions in the Republic of Latvia Supreme Council concern such problems which require an immediate solution.

Just as unacceptable are the demands expressed in the Russian President's communique that citizenship be granted to the above- mentioned group of people. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has repeatedly emphasized that there is no legal basis for the presence of Russia's military troops here and there is even a greater lack of grounds for the military officers and their family members to claim Latvian citizenship. The communique's statements about the domestic situation in Latvia and especially about the situation regarding human rights is categorically unacceptable to us. These statements do not only contradict the conclusions of various international experts regarding this issue but the tone of these statements is not acceptable in international relations.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs must make a presumption and simultaneously express regret that Russia's President is being misinformed about the true situation in Latvia, as witnessed by his expressions at the summit meeting with us President Clinton, as well as this most recent communique about draft legislation being discussed by the Latvian Supreme Council. Latvia has always been ready to resolve these questions through negotiations. What is urgently needed is only such willingness from Russia's side. Riga April 26, 1993

Gorbunovs Questions Yeltsin Statement, Troop Withdrawal Process

LD2504104293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2135 GMT 24 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Riga, 25 Apr—The statement by Russia's President Boris Yeltsin made last Friday was no surprise for Anatolijs Gorbunovs, speaker of the Latvia parliament. He said that he already knew that the draft decision being examined by Latvia's Supreme Soviet was on the Russian president's table. As has already been reported, this document provides for the issuance of a temporary residence permit—for no more than a year - to all persons connected with the Russian Army. Boris Yeltsin assessed the actions by the republic's authorities as inhuman, and stated that "in actual fact, in Latvia the ground is already being prepared for ethnic cleansing."

Anatolijs Gorbunovs, commenting on the Russian president's position as given in Saturday's evening television news, said that the question occurs to him as to "Why it is that Lithuania and Estonia are tackling all questions connected with the army by means of interstate talks," while in Latvia "The process is accompanied by all these statements and by the sort of noise that is being raised at present?"

Gorbunovs believes there are two reasons for this. First, he notes, "Russia's interests in Latvia are indisputably greater and it wants to preserve them at any price." Moreover, Latvia, Gorbunovs stressed, is unable because of its demographic situation to choose the Lithuanian option with regard to the Russian military.

The second reason, in his view, lies in the inflexibility of Latvia itself at the talks. In Gorbunovs' view, "The Supreme Soviet needs to pass this decision, but, of course, in the first place the status of the army personnel being withdrawn should be determined for the period of the withdrawal, and laid down in an interstate agreement." "Under no circumstances should we link the withdrawal of the army with civilians, thus holding up this process," he concluded.

Foreign Minister on Russian Troop Withdrawal Issue

LD2704154493 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0500 GMT 26 Apr 93

[Text] The regular round of talks between Latvia and Russia on the withdrawal of the troops of the Russian Federation from Latvian territory is supposed to begin at the Daina holiday hotel at Melluzi, Jurmala today. The latest information from Moscow shows that these talks may or may not take place, because Russia has started to express dissatisfaction with a draft resolution concerning the issuance of temporary residence permits to persons whose stay in Latvia is related to the temporary stationing of the Russian Army here, which has not yet been passed by the Supreme Council.

You may be interested in what the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Latvia thinks about this issue. Here is an opinion by Foreign Minister Georgs Andrejevs, which he expressed after his return from Bonn—an opinion about the possible talks with Russia and about the German standpoint on the troop withdrawal issue.

[Begin Andrejevs recording] As to whether the regular round of talks takes place, we will see, because [words indistinct] that talks with army officers, including even the highest officers, proceed, I would say, normally. Russia's political forces, not military forces, have been the main obstacle [words indistinct]. They are parliamentarians, those who are members of the official government delegation. It is difficult to foresee what will be their attitude, it is possible that results of the referendum will also influence that, right? So then, it would be simply too early to jump forward here with various conclusions. We should live on, and then we will see. But as far as the army supreme command and the supreme command of the former military district here are concerned, then we have here normal mutual understanding, and work is going on and it is planned. That is very rare in these talks.

Here is one particular point. Giving a rapid reply to a question, German Foreign Minister Kinkel unequivocally said the following. During his meeting in Moscow he said directly, clearly and unambiguously that economic aid to Russia would be linked to observance of at least three main conditions. One of them is vitally important for Latvia. Namely, that the army withdrawal should proceed taking account of the time limit set at the Helsinki summit, it should proceed rapidly, should be complete and without be linked to any other conditions. This is the first condition. And the second condition is that Russia has no hegemonic ambitions aimed at the territory of the former Soviet Union. [end recording]

Defense Ministry: 23,000 Russian Troops Remain

WS2704083693 Tallinn BNS in English 1113 GMT 26 Apr 93

[Text] Riga, Apr 26, BNS—About 23,000 Russian servicemen remain in Latvia—11,000 are officers and 12,000 soldiers—says the Latvian Defense Ministry.

The information is based on data provided by Russia.

Russian armed forces have already left 163 military facilities. About 400 Russian garrisons remain in Latvia.

Government Introduces New Sanctions on Russian Language

PM2704132193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Apr 93 p 1

[Report by Aleksandr Ranevskiy: "New Sanctions Against Russian Language Have Been Legalized by Latvian Republic Supreme Council"]

[Text] Riga—In accordance with amendments to the administrative code, leaders of enterprises and institutions will be fined up to 20,000 rubles [R] for hiring people who do not have a stipulated mastery of the state language.

Unpleasantnesses also await those people who have allowed the display of advertisemenets, posters, and billboards in a language other than Latvian. Naturally, that will apply primarily to the Russian language. A fine of R10,000-15,000 will have to be paid for any violation. The duplication of names in several languages is also forbidden.

Defense Minister Meets Lithuanian Counterpart

LD2704205893 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1700 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Text] Today, Latvian Defense Minister Talavs Jundzis met Lithuanian Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius and Algirdas Zvirenas, the Lithuanian ambassador to Latvia. They discussed the issue of the Central European countries' conference of ministers of defense, which will take place in Riga from 2-3 May, as well as the issue of the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic countries.

Parliament Adopts Law on Compulsory Military Service

LD2704185593 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1700 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Text] The parliament of the Republic of Latvia today adopted a law on compulsory military service in the Republic of Latvia, laying down the basic legal, economic, and social conditions for compulsory state service. The law provides that compulsory military service must be fulfilled by citizens of the Republic of Latvia, men of an age between 19 to 50 years. Volunteers may perform active military state service from 18 years. The arrangements were set down for the division of state service into military service and labor service. Active service as military service must be for 18 months, and labor service for 24 months. Exempt from active service, including the reserves, are persons who have completed tertiary education, as well as ordained clergymen, persons who attain the age of 50 years during the period of their service, persons convicted of severe crimes, and persons who, for reasons of health, cannot perform active state service.

Induction into active state service is deferred for officials of institutions of the Ministry of the Interior and on duty in its service; teachers and students at institutions of education; persons undergoing preliminary investigation for crimes or who are facing trial on criminal charges; persons condemned to deprivation of liberty; persons who for reasons of health are unfit for state service; persons working on their own or their parents' peasant farms; persons who have underage children in their care; persons who are the only guardians of family members unfit to work; deputies and candidate deputies during election campaigns; on the proposal of the Department of Sport at the Ministry of Education, sportsmen who are on a national team or candidates for one. Induction may not be deferred for more than a year.

Godmanis Returns From Poland, Comments on Meetings

LD2704184293 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1700 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Text] The Latvian Government delegation led by Ivars Godmanis has just returned from Poland. At a news conference at Riga airport, Mr. Godmanis said that a constructive meeting had occurred with Lech Walesa, at which there was discussion of the course of economic reform in Poland and Latvia. An agreement was signed on mutual protection and insurance of investments, and Godmanis emphasized that the main result of the visit is the conviction that the development of reforms in Latvia is going the right way. Our delegation was particularly interested in the regulations for import duties in Poland and the situation with the markets, which are very extensive in Poland, as Russian merchants make for Poland.

The most important issues facing the Polish parliament at the moment are connected with mass privatization. During the visit, it was resolved to create a commission to promote economic relations and trade with Poland.

Godmanis Reports on Foreign Loan Allocation

WS2304142693 Riga LETA in English 1221 GMT 23 Apr 93

[Text] Riga, April 23 (LETA)—Head of the Ministers Cabinet of Latvia Ivars Godmanis on Thursday submitted a report to a parliamentarian economic commission, briefing deputies that loans totalling nearly 22 million US dollars, had been allocated from the sum granted by the Group-24. The loans were granted to revive the economy of Latvia and to launch various business projects. Out of the sum, 3 million dollars had been allocated to a company "Lears" for purchasing diesel fuel, and other 3 million dollars had been received by a company "Agrodomija" for buying chemical fertilizers. One million dollars had been allocated for issuing loans to Latvian farmers, to be carried out by branches of the Bank of Latvia. 0.9 million dollars had been given to a company "Agroinvest," in accordance to the government decision a loan amounting to 10 million US dollars, had been allocated to enterprises processing farming products, for purchasing materials from abroad. Other 4 million dollars had been allocated as a government's share in the statute capital of the State Investment Bank.

Economic Ministry: Prices To Increase 80-100 Percent

LD2404204493 Riga Radio Riga International in English 1800 GMT 24 Apr 93

[Text] Prices will increase by 80 to 100 percent in 1993, according to figures from the Latvian Economic Reforms Ministry. The International Monetary Fund's prognosis of a 17 percent rise in 1993 is too optimistic, the ministry's expert said. Prices will continue to grow because of unrestricted development of monopolies and expenses caused by inflation.

Cevers Views Cooperation With Kuwaiti Counterpart

LD2704190193 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1700 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Text] Latvian Minister of Internal Affairs Ziedonis Cevers has discussed cooperation possibilities with Kuwaiti Minister of Internal Affairs Shaykh Ahmad al-Hamud al-Jabir al-Sabah, who arrived in Latvia today with a Kuwaiti government delegation. Cevers concluded at the meeting that the interior ministries of Latvia and Kuwait can successfully cooperate on some questions of training and criminology. However, to specify this cooperation, expert delegations from the two countries are needed first.

The Kuwait government delegation also met today Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia.

Lithuania

Brazauskas Congratulates Yeltsin on Referendum Success

LD2804105293 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 28 Apr 93

[Text] Several news conferences were held at the Seimas Palace today. At the first, a statement by President Algirdas Brazauskas on the results of the referendum in Russia was read by Justas Paleckis, the president's adviser on foreign policy. He stated:

The referendum of 25 April held in Russia has confirmed the support of the majority of the citizens of that country for the change for reforms and the democratization of the state. The efforts made by the extremist forces to return Russia to bolshevik domination and the imperialistic nostalgia suffered a defeat.

The statement goes on to say: The Republic of Lithuania, as a friendly neighboring state, can only congratulate President Boris Yeltsin on his success. We are glad that following the expression of the will of the citizens of Russia, new possibilities have emerged for strengthening democracy and political stability in that country, and for the cooperation between our states.

Slezevicius Addresses Seimas on Economy, Agriculture

WS2304145593 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1139 GMT 23 Apr 93

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 233]

[Text] 23 April 1993—In Thursday's [22 April] Seimas session the Lithuanian Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicus commented on last week's government evaluation of the economic condition of the state. He said that the Government cannot promise to make a sudden change in a short time. He noted that the size of pensions currently reaches 7 dollars, and the average wage - 28 dollars. That is why the government searched for ways to increase the salaries of groups of people who earn the least - pensioners, teachers, physicians and others. In the near future, said the Premier, a draft resolution will be presented on this question.

Speaking on the acceleration of agrarian reforms, Slezevicius noticed that presently in Lithuania there are 73 thousand farmers, and only 13 thousand ownership of land acts were given out. The Premier spoke in support of alternative farming methods for those who have land property rights. Therefore ownership acts should be given out independent of what the owner will do with the land - work it himself, sell it to a company or rent it. That, in Slezevicius' opinion would help resolve a very important question - to decrease the land's deficit.

Criticizes 'Sluggishness' in Moscow Talks

WS2604143893 Tallinn BNS in English 1413 GMT 23 Apr 93

[Text] Vilnius, Apr 23, BNS—Lithuanian Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius sharply criticized the delegation negotiating with Russia for moving too slowly on draft treaties with Moscow.

In a speech to the parliament Thursday [22 April], Slezevicius said the delegation's sluggishness "paralyzes the activities of the government" and harms Lithuania's interests.

The agreements reached with his Russian counterpart Viktor Chernomyrdin and the suggestion put forward by expert groups are serious steps toward normal trade relations between the two countries, he said. Any delay in resolving vital issues, he said, was fraught with negative implications for Lithuania.

Slezevicius, NATO Officials Discuss Russian Army Bases

LD2604134193 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1100 GMT 26 Apr 93

[Text] Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius met today with a group of NATO officials. The restructuring and a more efficient use of the installations of Russian troops withdrawing from Lithuania were discussed at the meeting. The prime minister stressed that not all the

military installations would be needed for the implementation of the state defense concept, and that therefore some of these enterprises should develop into production enterprises. The importance of foreign investments and modern technology, as well as setting up joint enterprises with foreign capital was pointed out at the meeting.

Slezevicius Meets Finnish Envoy, Discusses Cooperation

LD2204223593 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1700 GMT 22 Apr 93

[Text] Relations between Lithuania and Finland should become closer, Taisto Veikko Tolvanen, Finish ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Lithuania, said today at a meeting with Lithuanian Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius.

He handed an invitation to the Lithuanian prime minister from Finnish leaders to visit Finland at a convenient time and to discuss cooperation in business, in the pulp and timber-processing industry, and in power engineering and other spheres of economy.

The prime minister informed the ambassador about the present situation in the Lithuanian economy and the decisions of the government on the further freeing of prices, wage increases, and relations with the IMF.

Lithuania will continue the reforms proceeding toward a free market, Adolfas Slezevicius pointed out. He also pointed out that a closer relationship with Latvia and Estonia is aimed at in economic reform and foreign policy.

According to him, a meeting of the leaders of the governments of these states, which took place in Vilnius several days ago, opens the way to a new stage of such cooperation.

Slezevicius Leaves for Norway, To Meet Bruntland, Others

LD2604122593 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 26 Apr 93

[Text] Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius left for the Kingdom of Norway today. This is his first visit to a Western country as the head of government. Minister of Power Engineering Algimantas Stasiukynas is accompanying the prime minister.

During the two-day visit Adolfas Slezevicius will meet Gro Harlem Bruntland, the Norwegian prime minister, the ministers of foreign affairs and the power engineering and industry, representatives from the parliamentary Baltic Group, and the leadership of the Labor Party. Other official meetings and a news conference are also planned.

The prime minister will also participate in an international industrialists' conference and will sign a bilateral Lithuanian- Norwegian agreement on the exemption of dual taxation in bilateral trading.

Meets Norwegian Counterpart

LD2704194593 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 1900 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Text] In Oslo today, Lithuanian Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius and his Norwegian counterpart Gro Harlem Brundtland signed an inter-state treaty on non-application of double taxation and trade between the two states. The Lithuanian prime minister ended his 2-day visit to Norway today.

At his meeting with Mr. Slezevicius yesterday, Norwegian Foreign Minister Johan Joergen Holst said that his country would give priority to the Baltic states and expressed the hope that cooperation in the Baltic region would develop.

The Lithuanian prime minister reassured Mr. Holst that exactly this was one of his government goals [as heard]. At a meeting of the prime ministers of the Baltic states in Vilnius on 17 April it was agreed to coordinate not only economic but also political actions.

On his visit to Norway, Mr. Slezevicius invited Norwegian businessmen to invest into Lithuanian economy and reassured them that the Lithuanian Government was ready to guarantee the security of overseas capital.

The Lithuanian delegation will return to Vilnius tonight.

Brazauskas Holds Talks With Kuwaiti Minister

LD2704200293 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 1900 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Text] Yesterday, on his visit to Lithuania, Kuwaiti Internal Minister, cousin of the amir, Shaykh Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah, handed in to Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas a letter from the Kuwaiti amir proposing cooperation between the two states. The Kuwaiti internal minister also met with his Lithuanian counterpart.

Today he was received by Lithuanian Foreign Minister Povilas Gylys. Possibilities of investment into the oil industry and other aspects of inter-state cooperation were discussed at the meeting.

According to the Baltic News Service, a Lithuanian-Kuwaiti treaty on the protection of investment is under way.

A visit of a Lithuanian delegation to Kuwait is planned for this autumn to establish full diplomatic relations between the two countries. As reported by the Foreign Ministry information and press department, the Kuwaiti party would like the Lithuanian delegation to be headed by the prime minister.

Government Appoints New Armed Forces Chief of Staff

LD2804081593 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Text] Colonel Stasys Knezys is the new chief of staff of the Lithuanian armed forces. He is the former government representative for the withdrawal of the Russian Army.

Changes in the leadership of the armed forces were carried out on 1 April, but their announcement has been delayed. Colonel Stasys Knezys explained to a BNS correspondent that the announcement has been delayed because of illness by the former chief of staff of the armed forces, Lieutenant Colonel Valdas Sutkus. Official reasons for the dismissal of Valdas Sutkus, who has been heading the staff since its formation at the beginning of last year, have not been revealed.

Stasys Knezys maintains that the change of the staff leadership is directly linked to its reorganization from a joint into an armed forces. The staff has been expanded, its structure changed.

Valdas Sutkus has been offered other duties, but he decided to leave the national defense system and, according to BNS, he went to work in a joint firm abroad.

Col. Stasys Knezys is 45 years old. He is a graduate of the Tver Air Defense Academy.

Russia Hands Over Military Cantonment

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[Summary from poor reception] The handing over a military cantonment started today in Kalvarija, Marijampole Rayon. The artillery regiment of the 7th Russian airborne division was deployed there. It is expected that this operation will last for several days, as the reception commission has to accept 48 various buildings, including barracks garages, sport halls, and others.